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STUDY OF URBAN LIFE IN SYRIA

1200 - 1400

A thesis presented to the
University of London, Faculty
of Arts, for the Degree of Ph.D.

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Copy of Candidate's Statement, approved by the University, as to Proposed Scope and Method of Treatment of Ph.D. Thesis entitled - "A Study of the Urban Life in Syria between A.D. 1200 and 1400, aiming mainly at finding the extent to which such life was continued".

During the 13th and 14th Centuries A.D. Syria was a battleground. Saladin started the ball rolling when he defeated the Crusaders in Hittin (1187). His immediate successors waged less serious wars against the Crusaders, but the Mamluks, established in A.D. 1250, carried the conflict to its logical end when in 1291 they wrested Acre from the Crusaders who satisfied themselves with the kingdom of Cyprus.

These wars constitute only one aspect of the picture. The Tartars (Mongols) found their way to Syria in the 13th century and till the end of the 14th they remained a source of danger to the people of Syria. Their campaigns, battles, conquests etc. caused great damage in the country. Besides, the Mamluks fought against the kingdom of Armenia, and thus North Syria was the meeting place of the armies.

Such wars led to the destruction of many aspects of Syrian life. Agriculture based on irrigation (rice, cotton, sugar-cane) almost disappeared from the country by A.D. 1400. Towns were completely or partly destroyed. Yet Syrian urban life seems to have some continuity, and towns revived, some

quickly, some more slowly, while some towns survived the forces of destruction.

The purpose of the present study is to analyse this continuity, and to attempt an explanation of it. This explanation will mean a study of the factors that controlled life in Syria in this period. These factors include the physical (geographical), the economic and the social. In some cases it would be necessary to cover an historical background in order to appreciate the development of a trend or an organisation. The town organisation will receive special attention because of its especial importance in determining the continuity of life.

The anticipated contribution to knowledge of the subject may be summed up in (a) a study of civic organisations in Syria in the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. (b) an attempt to relate this organisation to the factors controlling the continuity of urban life, and (c) a possible definition of the relation between town and country in Syria during this period.

Note: This statement is sent to the Examiners, in order that they may be informed as to what the Candidate has been authorised by the University to submit as his Thesis.

P R E F A C E

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Last, but not least, I thank my wife for her assistance in preparing the maps.

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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

Abul Fidā.	-	Taqwīm al-Buldān.
Abul Fidā, Tārīkh.	-	Mukhtasar Akhtār al-Bashar.
Abū Shāma, Dhayl.	-	Dhayl ar-Rawdatayn.
Atiya, Studien.	-	A 14th century Fatwa on the Status of Christians in the Mamlūk Empire.
Badrī.	-	al-Badri, - Nuzhat al-Anām fī Mahāsin ash-Sham.
Cahen, Syrie.	-	Cahen, Cl. La Syrie du Norde a l'epouque des Croisades.
Durar.	-	Hajar, Ibn. ad-Durar al-Kāmina.
Durr.	-	ash-Shihnaad-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Tarikh Mamlakat Halab.
GAL.	-	Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur.
G. - D.	-	Gaudfroy-Demombynes, La Syrie a l'epoque des Mamlouks d'apres les Auteurs Arabes.
Ghazzī.	-	Nahr adh-Dhahab.
Id. (J.)	-	French translation of Idrisi's Nuzhat al-Mushtaq.
IFD.	-	Institute Francaise de Damas, Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales.
JA.	-	Journal Asiatique.
JAOS.	-	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS.	-	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Khitat.	-	Maqrizī, al-Mawā'iz wal-I'tibar.
Laoust.	-	Essai sur les Doctrines Sociales et politiques d'Ibn Taymiyya.
Masālik.	-	'Umarī, Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amsar.
Masālik (Z.).	-	Vol. I of the previous work edited by Zaki, A.
Mash.	-	Majallat al-Mashriq, Beirut, 1898 ff.
Mujīr.	-	Mujir ad-Din, al-Uns al-Jalīl.

PPTS.	-	Palestine Pilgrims Texts Society, XIV vols., London, 1893 ff.
Pogg.	-	Poggibonsi, Travels Beyond the Seas.
REI.	-	Revue Etudes Islamiques.
ROL.	-	Revue de l'Orient Latin.
Sālih.	-	Sālih ibn Yahya, Tārīkh Bairut.
Sauvaget, Esquisse.	-	Esquisse d'une Histoire de la ville de Damas.
Sauvaget, Poste.	-	La Poste aux Chevaux dans l'Empire des Mamlouks.
Strange, Palestine.	-	Le Strange, Palestine under the Muslims.
Tabbākh.	-	I'lām an-Nubalā'
Zub. (R)	-	az-Zāhīrī, Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik, ed. Ravisse.

INTRODUCTION

I

The 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries were important in the history of Syria. The Crusaders were eventually expelled, and the danger of the Mongols was averted during this period. But probably equally important was the revival of sunnism and the suppression of Shī'ism in Syria and Egypt. This led to a peculiar situation. Shī'īs accepted a defeated attitude, and gradually formed closed communities, which had their own communal organization and life. Because of the suspicion to which they were subjected many of them avoided the proper circulation of their religious literature and depended more on oral traditions. It is because of this, we believe, that so little is known about the Nusayrīs and Druzes.

In considering the growth of closed communities we might as well keep in mind the Christian communities living outside the cities and towns, such as the Maronites, who were suspects of collaboration with the European Christians.

During this period Sunnism revived. As a result of this we have an abundance of religious and legal literature. This literature is partly examined in Chapter VII, below.

Authors living in those stirring times were conscious of their importance, and they did their best to keep their Chronicles full and alive - at least from their point of view. Thus the

period is very well documented for the student.

But the subject we were studying, urban life, was not of interest to the authors of the period. The geographers had no interest in the people as such, and towns received similar descriptions in many a case. Writers on administration and political organization wrote in general terms. The only exception, and an important one it is, is the handbooks on "al-hisba" which seem to be full of information. They were specific guide-books to a highly specialised and significant magistracy. Besides the Fuqahā' of the period discussed Hisba as a part of the ethical and social duty of the state (Imama).

The primary sources of the history of the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries are receiving the attention of publishers.(1) The more fortunate of authors life Ibn al-Athīr, Yaqūt, Nuwayrī, Maqrizī, Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn Taghrī Birdī and Qalqashandī have had their works prepared by scholars, who spared no effort in producing accurate and reliable edition. Al-Qalqashandī's Subh al-A'sha suffered a little because its publication took place when Dār al-Kutub (Cairo) was experimenting.

But when we come to the works of Abu-Shāma.(2) Ibn Kathīr,(3) Muwaffaq ad-Dīn ibn Qudāma Sakhawi (ad-Daw' al-Lāmi'), and Nu'aymi (ad-Dāris) to mention only a few, we feel sorry for such books to appear in such a form.

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(1) Many of them are still in MSS and scattered all over Europe, Egypt and Syria.
(2) Both ar-Rawdatayn and the Dhayl need scholarly editions.
(3) As an example the editor of al-Bidāya wan-Nihāya did not know of the existence of a place called 'Akkār (North Lebanon), so every time that word came he changed it into 'Akkā. Again Safad is invariably printed Sughd. Passim.

It is quite helpful to us that Syria was visited during the 7th (13th and 8th (14th) centuries by several European travellers, who left us some useful information and vivid description of various aspects of life.

We propose to discuss our authorities only as far as certain works were utilized in this study. We shall deal first with the historians proper, then proceed to the geographers and historians of administration, including authors on al-Hisba. European travellers will be treated then, showing the value of their works on throwing light on our study. Religious literature is duscussed elsewhere in this study, and will not come here.

II

Ibn al-Qalanisī (Hamza ibn Asad ibn 'Alī ibn Muhammad) died in 555/1160, in Damascus, where he had been Ra'īs ad-Diwān and one of the prominent men of the city.(1) His work, Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq, is a continuation of Hilāl as-Sābī,(2) and he brought his history down to one year of his death.(3) He was quoted by many, and was considered as reliable.(4)

His book, Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq,(5) is a very useful source for the troubled period Syria underwent in the first half

(1) Yaqūt, Irshād, IV, 145.
(2) Ibn Khallikan (Bulāq) II, 498, and de Slane (English), IV, 484.
(3) Amedroz, Introduction to his edition of Qalānisī, p. 7.
(4) Ib., 5; See also Pp. 6-7 where Dhahabi is quoted to show those who heard from Qalānisī.
(5) Beirut, 1908, (at the Catholic Press). See however GAL, Sup., II, 566, where Leyden 1908 is given as the publishing place.

of the 6th (12th) century.[1]

Ibn al-Athīr (555/1160 - 630/1234), wrote his voluminous work covering the world history down to 628/1231.[2] But our interest, at present, goes to the last part of his work (Vol. XII). Here he comes very useful because of his wide travels in Syria, Iraq and Hijāz,[3] and of his training in al-Hadīth.[4] In al-Kamil history appears to be coherent and understandable. The wealth of information renders his work indispensable.[5]

Sibt ibn al-Jawzi (582/1186 - 654/1257),[6] has left us Mir'āt az-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-A'yān,[7] which is a very voluminous work, but, in the opinion of Cahen, lacks order, criticism and proper selection of information.[8]

As far as we are concerned Sibt supplies us with useful information about the last decades of the Ayyūbīds, as he took an active part in the affairs of the state, probably as a friend of al-Mu'azzam.[9] Mir'āt az-Zamān was certainly among the most quoted source of the early 7th (13th) century.[10]

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(1) See for examples, infra, C. III, S. I (1)
(2) See Vol. XII, 330, where he had written "Then began the year 629", with nothing following. Al-Kāmil was edited by Tornberg, Leyden, 1853.
(3) GAL, I, 345, n. 2. (4) Ib., 345.
(5) Cahen, 59. Cahen points out to al-Qalānisī, Imād ad-Dīn and Ibn Shaddād as among the sources of Ibn al-Athīr (ib.). On Ibn al-Athīr see Wustenfeld, Geschichtsschreiber der Araber, 315.
(6) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 195.
(7) Jewett edited a part of it (from 495/1101) in facsimile, Chicago, 1907.
(8) Cahen, 65.
(9) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 117, where Sibt is quoted as receiving a letter from al-Mu'azzam about soldiers from Damascus in 616. Again in 623 (ib., 147) Sibt is cited saying (al-Mu'azzam told me of this affairs".
(10) Par example see Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 48, 69, 71-3, 102, 111, 117, 147. Cf. Cahen, 66.

Abū Shāma, Shihāb ad-Dīn Abul-Qāsim ibn Ismā'īl, (599/1203 - 665/1267) has left us an interesting autobiography of himself in Dhayl ar-Rawdatayn,[1] with a list of his works.[2] Abū Shāma writes on Damascus, and Syria in general, from personal experience in the Dhayl, and especially of the latter years. This work ar-Rawdatayn[3] is a balanced work, with the authorities and sources acknowledged.[4] The early years of the 7th (13th) century are treated, in the Dhayl,[5] on the authority of Sibt ibn al-Jawzī[6] ~~and others~~[6] and Abū Shāma's teachers. Later, however, we notice less dependence on others, and more personal knowledge and opinions. Abū Shāma had many friends amongst the 'Ulamā', and his information about them is a real contribution to the inner history of the learned society of Damascus,[7] down to a very short time before his death.[8]

Abū Shāma was well esteemed by posterity. Ibn Kathīr reported that Abū Shāma was believed to have attained the state of ijtihād.[9] Dhahabī said of him that he was "thiqa".[10].

In Ibn 'Abd az-Zahir (620/1223 - 692/1293) we have an author who not only knew the first great Mamlūks, but worked for them, as his son, Fakhr ad-Dīn did.[11] His activities resulted

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(1) Dhayl, 37 ff. (2) Ib., 39-40.
(3) Cairo, 1287-8, 2 vols.
(4) See for some of his authorities Rawdatayn, I, 52, 97, 180; II, 15, 27, 139, 241.
(5) Published Cairo, 1366/1947 under the name "Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn as-Sādis was-Sābi'".
(6) Sibt is quoted several times, 48, 69, 71 ff, 102, 111, 117, 147.
(7) Cahen, 67, says that the book is written "dans le plus complet desordre", but we are inclined to think of the Dhayl as memoirs. There is a gab, however, between ar-Rawdatayn and its Dhayl (ib.)
(8) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 250. (9) Ib.
(10) Cited by Kawtharī (ed. of Dhayl), p. 4. See Fawāt, I, 252-3 for a short account of his life.
(11) GAL, I, 318.

in a Sīrat al-Malik az-Zāhir[1] and al-Altāf alKhafiyya, min as-Sīra ash-Sharīfa as-Sultaniyya al-Malikiyya al-Ashrafiyya, being a biography of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil down to 691/1293.[2]

The Ayyūbīds had their historian in Ibn Wāsil, Jamāl ad-Dīn Muhammad ibn Sālim (604/1207 - 697/1298).[3] Ibn Wāsil lived in Hamā till 659, where he occupied himself in teaching,[4] till 659, when he was called to Egypt. In 663 Baybars entrusted him with a message to King Manfred of Sicily. On his return to Hamā, he was appointed qādī-qudāt.

"Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb", in three volumes,[5] deals fully with the Ayyūbīds for short period (from before 676/1277 to after 683/1284)[6] and for that period of the 7th (13th) century it is unsurpassed.[7]

Zubdat al-Fikra fī Tārīkh al-Hijra was written by Rukn ad-Dīn Baybars ad-Dawadār (645/1247 - 725/1325). He occupied several administrative posts at al-Karak and Cairo, and was dismissed and reinstated often, and suffered five years in prison. He lived till he was 80, and occupied himself with the Hadīth, iftā' and teaching.[8] His book is of 25 volumes,[9] and was

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(1) Still in MS. BM, Add. 23, 331. For other MSS See GAL, I, 318; Sup. I, 551.

(2) Ed. A. Moberg, Lund, 1902. See GAL, ib., for works of Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir. EI, art Ibn Abdul-Zāhir.

(3) GAL, I, 322, based on Abul Fidā and Wustenfelds' Geschichtesschreiber der Araber, 371.

(4) GAL, I, 322. But Ibn Wāsil travelled in Syria and Iraq and went on pilgrimage. He accompanied his father when he was in the service of al-Mu'azzam (622/1225) in Jerusalem.

(5) We have been able to use the MS of Vol. I (Cam. Un. Library, LI. 1.6. The whole work, I understand from Dr. B. Lewis, is being prepared for publication by J. Shayyal of Alexandria.

(6) Cahen, 69.

(7) Ib. The author was personally acquainted with the whole history he wrote and he was informed by his father. Cahen (70) thinks of Mir'āt az-Zamān and Mufarrij as our best authorities for the Ayyūbīds, and they have been copied and epitomed by successive authors.

brought down to 724/1324, was probably composed with the help of his secretary, Ibn Kibr.[1] The last parts of the books are the ones of use, because they contain information based on personal knowledge and experience in the affairs of the State.[2]

Abul Fidā, al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ismā'īl (672/1273 - 732/1331), was a descendant of the Ayyūbīds, and although he was deprived of ruling his mamlaka of Hamā at the death of his father, he was reinstated in 710/1310, by an-Nāsir Muhammad.[3]

Abul Fidā was well versed in fiqh and medicine and he mastered astronomy.[4] His history, al-Mukhtasar fī Akhbār al-Bashar, is a summary of Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Wāsil and Ibn Abd az-Zāhir,[5] except for the local and personal information which one finds for the last years of the Ayyubīds in Hama.[6]

Al-Jazarī, Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad, (658/1260 - 739/1338), was born in Damascus, became occupied in al-Hadīth, wrote on Hadith and history.[7] Al-Jazarī completes our information on the 7th (13th) century, but the work is still in MSS.[8]

= (8) Durar, I, 509 - 10.
(9) Ib., 510. GAL, II, 44, 11 volumes is also mentioned.

(1) Durar, ib. The book is still in MS. Bodleian and BM Libraries own the bulk of the book. See GAL, II, 44; Sup. II, 43.
(2) See Cahen, 78-9.
(3) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 62-3. (4) Fawāt, I, 17.
(5) Cahen, 81. His Taqwīm will be discussed with the geographical sources, below.
(6) Their rule ended in 748/1341. Ibn Wardī, II, 333.
(7) al-Birzālī, cited by Sauvaget in the introduction to his French translation of extracts of Ibn al-Jazari, published under la Chronique de Damas d'al-Jazarī, Paris, 1949, Pp. i - ii. This published part is concerned with the years 689-698 A.H.
(8) GAL, Sup., II, 33; Cahen, 80.

Ibn al-Wardī, Abū Hafs 'Umar, (689/1290 - 749/1349),[1] was an encyclopaedist writer of the 8th (14th) century. He was a faqīh and a poet and his writings included fiqh, language, poetry, and history.[2] His history he intended to be a continuation of Abul Fidā, hence the name Tatimmat al-Mukhtasar. We found it rather useful for the short period previous to his death. For the earlier part, however, he depended largely on Abul Fidā who himself had abridged former authors.

Adh-Dhahabī, Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Uthmān, was born in 673/1274 and died in 748/1348.[3] He enjoyed the respect and esteem of his contemporaries, as well as that of posterity. Thus Zamalkānī, who read his Tārīkh al-Islām said of it that it was a great book.[4]

Tārīkh al-Islām is a history of Islam down to 700/1300 in which this history is divided into decades, thus Dhahabī had 70 parts, in 12 (20 or more) volumes.[5] It is a detailed compendium of mediaeval Islam and Muslim countries,[6] and reliable for information.[7]

Al-Mufaddal ibn Abil-Fadā'il, completed his work, an-Nahj as-Sadīd[8] in 759/1359, in which he dealt with the history of the Mamluks from Baybars (658/1260 to 741/1340 with

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(1) He died in the plague of that year (Durar, III, 194).
(2) Durar, III, 195-6. (3) Fawāt, II, 185.
(4) Ib. For a list of Dhahabis works see Fawat, ib.; Durar, III, 337 and GAL, II, 46-7.
(5) GAL, II, 46.
(6) For the MSS see GAL, II, 46-7. We have consulted vols. XI and XII (Oxford, Laud. 305 and Laud. 279 respectively.
(7) See Cahen, 82, on Dhahabis sources, which included Qalānisī, Sibt, Ibn al-Athīr, Abū Shāma, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Wāsil, Abul Fidā, and Jazarī.
(8) GAL, Sup, I, 590. The book has been edited by Blochet. See Bibliography.

sporadic bits of information down to 749/1348).[1]

Al-Mufaddal seems to have used documents which have otherwise been lost, and here lies the value of his work. We may add that he was detached and disinterested and his judgment was sound.

Fawāt al-Wafayyāt is a continuation of Ibn Khallikān's Wafayyāt al-A'yān. Its author, Muhammad ibn Shākir (d. 764/1363) gained his surname, al-Kutubī, from being a successful bookseller.[2] His biographical dictionary, Fawāt, is a good source for information about people who lived late in the 7th (13th) and early 8th (14th) centuries.

Ibn Kathīr was born in 700/1300 or a little later, and died in 774/1373.[3] His Shuyūkh included Ibn ash-Shihna and al-Mizzī, and he was very much impressed by Ibn Taymiyya, a matter which caused him inconvenience.[4] His works were liked by people, and esteemed by men. Adh-Dhahabī spoke of him as the "mufti, muhaddith, mutqin."[5]

His voluminous history, "al-Bidāya wan-Nihāya", interests us only in the last two volumes, XIII and XIV,[6] which deal with the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries. His sources are those discussed above, but his information of the last years is good and dependable as it was based on personal contacts, and his writing takes the shape of detailed memoirs. Besides Ibn Kathīr is especially valuable for a biography of Ibn Taymiyya.[7]

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(1) GAL, I, 348.
(2) Durar, III, 451-2. See also GAL, II, 48.
(3) Durar, I, 374. (4) Ib. (5) Ib.
(6) al-Bidāya wan-Nihāya was published in Cairo, Vol. XIV, which completes the work, appeared in 1358.
(7) Ibn Kathīr was a prolific writer. See GAL, II, 49; Sup. II, 48; Durar, I, 374.

Al-Halabī, Badr ad-Dīn Abū Muhammad al-Hasan ibn Habīb (710/1310 - 779/1377), is the author of Durrat al-Aslāk fī Mulk al-Atrāk,[1] which is a history of the Mamlūks from 648/1250 - 777/1250, in rhymed prose,[2] which is still in MS,[3] and we have consulted the Bodleian MS.

Ibn al-Furāt, Nāsirad-Dīn Muhammad ibn Abd ar-Rahīm (734/1334 - 808/1405),[4] was a muhaddith, worked as Shāhid (witness) and held the post of 'uqūd al-ankiha (marriage officer) in Cairo. His books, Tārīkh, would have been in 60 volumes had he completed it, but he completed only the last three centuries before his death (8th/14th - 7th/13th and 6th/12 in this order) in 20 volumes.[5] Ibn al-Furāt brought his history down to 803/1400.[6] His language is full of grammatical mistakes,[7] but his subject matter is useful. So far vols. VIII and IX, which contain the history of the years 683/1284 to 799/1397 have been published.[8] In the latter part of his work, Ibn al-Furāt writes of events and people very fully, so that we have a wealth of information which surpasses that given by Ibn Kathīr, and comes near that of Taghrī Birdī.[9]

Ad-Durr al-Muntakhab fī Tārīkh Mamlakat Halab, is the work of Muhammad ibn ash-Shihna al-Halabī, who was nāzir fil-Kalām

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(1) Durar, II, 29-30. (2) GAL, II, 37; Durar, ib.
(3) GAL, ib. mentions parts being printed in Alexandria (1289) and Cairo (1307).
(4) Ibn Hajar, Inbā' al-Ghumr bianbā' al-'Umr (BM, MS), 157; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, al-Manhal as-Sāfī (Paris MS) vol. V, 145. Both authorities are cited by Ibn al-Furāts editor, C. Zurayk, (Beirut, 1936), vol. IX, p. b
(5) Sakhāwī, ad-Daw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn at-Tāsi' (Damascus, 1354), VIII, 51. Ibn Hajar thought his book would have been in 100 volumes, cited by Sakhāwī, ib.
(6) Ib. (7) Ib. (8) Beirut, 1936-9.
(9) On Ibn al-Furāt's authorities, especially for the earlier parts of his work, see Cahen, 85-6.

ash-Shar'iyya in Egypt, and died in Cairo in 890/1485.[1] Ibn ash-Shihna relied largely on Ibn Shaddād, the geographer, and added various bits of information on things forgotten by Ibn Shaddād,[2] or things that had happened since his death.[3] In dealing with many towns of Syria he resorted to al-'Umarī's Masālik.[4]

The book has been edited by Y. Sarkīs,[5] but in its present form is not just the work of Ibn ash-Shihna, as al-Batrūnī, who was professor at Khusrau pasha's school in Aleppo in 1035/1625, had added many a note, which were included by Sarkis in the text.[6]

The sources of Ibn ash-Shihna are discussed by Sauvaget in the introduction to his French translation of ad-Durr,[7] which is richly annotated.

Whatever the case may be ad-Durr is a useful source for the history of Aleppo for the period following the death of Ibn Shaddād. Not only political, but social and economic history is enriched by this small volume.

Bairūt is as fortunate as Aleppo in the sense that it had an historian, Sālih ibn Yahyā (d. after 840/1436).[8] Tārīkh Bairūt is a family history of Umarā' al-Gharb, Āl Buhtur, who settled in central Lebanon in the 6th (12th) century. But with this family history Sālih gives us information about the social, political, economic and administrative conditions of the city and its neighbourhood. He relies, for his sources, on family documents,

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(1) GAL, II, 42. (2) Cf. Durr, 230 f.
(3) Cf. ib., 232 ff, 257 ff.
(4) Tripoli and Hama amongst others.
(5) Beirut, 1909. (6) Durr, 104.
(7) Les Perles Choisies d'Ibn ash-Chihna', Beyrouth, 1933, pp. XIII - XIV.
(8) GAL, II, 38; Cheikho, Mashriq, I (1898), 34, could not find any information about Sālih ibn Yahya beyond the fact that he lived in the middle of the 9th (15th)century.

and thus his reports are usually authentic.[1]

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Taqiy ad-Dīn Abū Bakr, was born in Damascus in 779/1377. He held the post of professor at eight madrasas in Damascus, and taught Hadith at Damascus and Jerusalem. His strong point was fiqh, so that he was faqīh ash-Shām.[2]

His works were numerous, both in fiqh and history.[3] His history which we have used is al-I'lām bitārīkh al-Islām, which he meant as a continuation of adh-Dhahabi's Tārīkh. He brought it down to 840[4] and followed his master in dividing it into decades.[5]

Al-Maqrīzī, Ahmad ibn 'Ali (766/1364 - 854/1442), was born in Cairo,[6] and held various government offices in Cairo, later in Damascus, where he stayed for 10 years. Al-Maqrīzī died in 845/1442.

His writings in history are varied. He wrote on the social, administrative and economic history of Egypt, as al-Khitāt, Ighathat al-'Umma[7] and Shudhūr al-'Uqūd show. Besides he wrote on the general history of Islam, and as-Sulūk comes in this category.[8]

Ighathat al-Umma bi Kashf al-Ghumma[9] is an attempt to trace the causes of famines and inflations, taking the history of famines in Egypt as his course of interpretation. He concluded

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(1) The book has been published by the late L. Cheikho. The second edition (1927), which we have used, has received valuable corrections from Sauvaget, in IFD, vols. VII-VIII (1937-8), 65-82.
(2) Sakhāwī, XI, 21-2. (3) Ib., 22-3. (4) Ib. 22.
(5) GAL, II, 51 for MSS of the work. We have used BM, Add. 23, 290. The American University of Beirut Library has a MS copy of his Tabaqāt ash-Shafi'iyya (MS, 920.2 I 131).
(6) Khitat, II, 95-6; GAL, II, 38. (7) Cairo, 1359/1940 ed. Ziada M.M. and Shayyāl, J.
(7) On the sources of al-Maqrizī and the accusations of as-Sakhawī, see as-Sakhāwī, I, 358-9.
(8) Ighathat, 4.

that such things were generally due to bad administration and neglect of the interest of the people.

The other book that interests us in this discussion is Kitāb as-Sulūk lima'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,[1] which he intended to be a history of the Ayyūbīds and Mamlūks down to his days. Needless to say that al-Maqrizī utilized ~~previous~~ earlier authors for his history previous to the time he could see things for himself, namely about 785/1383.[2] But the editor is inclined to believe that Maqrizī 's Sulūk contained some information about the Ayyūbīds which other books lacked.[3]

Of the contemporaries of al-Maqrizī we are interested in Ibn Hajar (773/1373 - 852 /~~1448~~), the author of ad-Durar al-Kāmina fī A'yān al-Mi'a ath-Thamina.[4] Ibn Hajar was educated in Cairo and Damascus and visited Syrian towns.[5] He held judicial posts,[6] and wrote many books the most important of which is Fath al-Bārī fī Shart al-Bukhārī, al-Isāba fī Tamyīz as-Sahaba, Inbā' al Ghumr and ad-Durar al-Kāmina.

Another contemporary of al-Maqrizī is al-'Aynī (762/1360 - 855/1451), whose work, Tārīkh al-Badr fī Awsāf ahl al-'Asr we have used.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī (813/1411 - 874/1469) is the author of an-Nujūm az-Zāhira fī Akhbār Misr wal-Qāhira,[7] besides al-Manhal

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(1) Ed. Ziada, M.M., Cairo, 1934, in progress.
(2) Beginning of vol. IV. See vol. I, Part, III, p. ز; Maqrīzī was then 19 years old.
(3) Ib.
(4) Haydarabad, 1350 (4 vols.)
(5) Durar, IV, 493.
(6) Ib., 494-5.
(7) We have used the Cairo edition (vols. I to IX already out) 1929 ff and Poppers edition, Berkley, 1909 ff.

as-Sāfī[1] and Hawādith ad-Duhūr.[2]

Taghrī Birdī was nāyib as-saltana in Damascus, and his son, the historian, later joined the circles of the Sultans, and moved in their society. All these circumstances, with his critical mind, enabled him to produce a history, which, in its later parts is very instructive and informative, compared in wealth of details only to Ibn al-Furāt.[3] The book is just a mine of information on the political history and the administration of the Mamlūk Empire.[4]

A book which stands on its own in the history books of the period under discussion, is an-Nu'aymi's "ad-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris."[5] The author (845/1441- 927/1521)[6] has written other books, but not one of them comes near to this. It is the history of the schools and teachers of Damascus from the 8th (12th) to the early 10th (16th) century, based on earlier authorities, and very well documented with waqf deeds and wills. It certainly helps us understand the internal organization of the Damascus schools.

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(1) Probably meant to be a continuation of as-Safadi's al-Wāfī.
(2) Continuation of as-Sulūk.
(3) We are confining our discussion to the books we used in this study.
(4) As-Sakhāwī, X, 305-8, has left us a full account of Ibn Taghrī Birdī's life.
(5) The book has other names; See the introduction to its Damascus edition (only vol. I, 1948) Pp. ٤-٧
(6) Ib., p. ٥ , citing Shadharāt adh-Dhahab and al-Kawākib as-Sā'ira.

III

One of the geographers we consulted wrote long before our period. He is al-Muqaddasi, author of Ahsan at-Taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-Aqālīm. Al-Muqaddasi belongs to the 4th (10th) century, and we have consulted him in the case of previous conditions of towns (C. II), so that we might follow up their development. Ahsan at-Taqāsīm is a reliable book, and the author, who is a Syrian, knew the country well.

Idrīsī, who lived in Sicily, wrote his Nuzhat al-Mushtāq in the middle of the 6th (12th) century. Al-Idrīsī did not visit Syria, so he collected his information from travellers, merchants and reporters. But his criticism and sound judgment enabled him to make a reliable choice of the facts available.

Nuzhat al-Mushtāq was very badly edited by Gildmeister (Rome, 1592), and the French translation of Jaubert is only a slight improvement.

Yāqūt (575/1179 - 626/1229) has left us two dictionaries: Mu'jam al-Buldān (geographical dictionary) and Irshād al-Arīb (Dictionary of learned men). The first supplies the reader with some interesting information, which he collected from his travels and from the Libraries he visited.(1) But Yāqūt does not satisfy our need of information, except in a few cases - such as Aleppo, Ladhiqiyya and Baysān. The coastal towns he leaves out, probably as they were outside ~~the~~ Muslim authority.(2)

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(1) Cahen, 91.
(2) Marasid al-ittilā' is an epitome of Yāqūt.

His dictionary of learned men is a very useful source of information, but most of the people of whom he writes lived before our time, so we used the book very little.

Ibn Shaddād (613/1216 - 684/1285) is the author of al-A'lāq al-Khatīra fī Umarā' ash-Sham wal-Jazīra,[1] which is extremely valuable for North and Central Syria. He collected full lists of state budgets, schools, baths, square and large buildings in Aleppo, Damascus, and even in small towns. His archaeological sense made him differentiate between what "was" in his days, and what had been. In this he is much better source than Yāqūt, who often accepted previous reports as equal to the conditions in his days.[2]

Abul Fidā (672/1273 - 732/1331) criticized former geographers and said of himself that he investigated both the names of the places, as well as their longtitudes and latitudes.[3] He was well versed in astronomy, and it was not surprising that he tabulated his geography accurately.[4] His description of the towns is short, snappy and precise. The coastal towns had been destroyed by his time, and he had very little to say about most of them.

Three authors interested themselves in the writing of encyclopaedias for the benefit of their contemporaries. They

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(1) GAL, I, 432 gives the name with another spelling - "al-Hazīra" instead of al-Khatīra.
(2) On Ibn Shaddād and his A'lāq see Cahen, "La Djazira au milieu du Treizieme siecle d'apres Ibn Chaddād," REI, 1934, 109-28; Ledit, C. "Ibn Shaddād", Mash. XXXIII (1935), 161-223, 586-608; Zayat, "Ibn Shaddād," Mash. XXXII (1934), 504-10.
(3) Abul Fidā, 1-2.
(4) Fawāt, I, 17.

were an-Nuwayrī, al-'Umarī, and al-Qalqashandī. As they held offices in the state and meant to help those desirous to become "kuttāb inshā'," they wrote about administration at length. Although az-Zāhirī, did not write an encyclopaedia as the others did, his work, Zubdat, is primarily for use by those who care for state service.

An-Nuwayrī was nāzir al-Jaysh in Tripoli, and a favourite of al-Malik an-Nāsir. He died in 733/1333, at the age of fifty.(1) His book Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,(2) has helped us understand the problem of Iqtā', of administration of financial affairs and tax-collection in Syria.(3)

Al-'Umarī (700/1301 - 748/1347) is a member of a family that helped a great deal in the organization of the Mamluk Empire and the barīd.(4) His work, Masālik al-Absār,(5) is a geographical, historical and biographical work.

The book is still in MS form.(6) We have used the part at the Bodleian. But Ibn ash-Shihna (in Durr) has taken from al-Masālik. Besides Gaudfroy-Demombynes in his la Syrie, has translated many passages which proved to be of value to us.

Al-Qalqashandī was born at Qalqashanda (in Egypt) in 756/1355, occupied himself with fiqh, held judicial posts, and became kātib al-inshā.(7) He died in 821/1418. His book, Subh

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(1) Durar, I, 197. GAL, I, 139 gives the date of his death as 732.
(2) In 30 vols. Durar, ib. A Cairo edition is in progress (Vol. I, 1929) and 14 vols. have already appeared. But so far the history proper of the book is still in MS.
(3) Vol. VIII is especially valuable here.
(4) See Sauvaget, Poste, 51.
(5) See infra p. 296, n. 1. (6) GAL, II, 141.
(7) Sakhāwī, I, 8; Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, VII, 149.

al-A'sha fī Kitābat al-Inshā, is in 14 volumes. The parts which interested us in particular are 3 volumes III, IV and V, which contained the politico-geographical information of Syria and Egypt. Besides volumes XII and XIII contain a large number of official documents which helped us define some of the duties of the state officers.

Az-Zāhirī, Khalil ibn Shāhīn was born in 813/1410 in Jerusalem, and spent his childhood there. He went to Cairo with his father. His interests in education were limited to the needs, and he joined the civil service, becoming hājib then nāyib of Alexandria, then at al-Karak and Safad. But his official career was not a regular one, as he was often dismissed and reinstated.

His book, Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik, deals with the political geography of Syria and Egypt, and gives useful information about the administration. But he seems to fall a prey to exaggeration, as in the case of the armies and villages in Syria.(1)

Another group of authors supplied information on al-Hisba and Muhtasib. Of those Shayzarī (d. c. 589/1193) and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (d. 729/1329) wrote handbooks, and men like Ibn Jamā'a and Ibn Taymiyya, wrote from a legal point of view. As the books and the views expressed in them are treated elsewhere in this study,(2) we have no intention of repeating ourselves.

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(1) See infra, pp. 42-3, 107.
(2) See infra, C. IV SS. VII and VIII; C. VII, S. 11 (2).

IV

A number of travellers came to Syria late in the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. Many of those have left accounts of their visits, accounts that are useful for us.

Late in the 6th (12th) century the country was visited by Benjamin of Tudela (shortly before 1170) Theoderich (1172), Ibn Jubair (1183-4) and Phocas (1185).

Benjamin's visit to Syria took place shortly before 1170.[1] He came first to Antioch and went to Jerusalem via Jubayl, Tyre, 'Akkā and Nablus. Damascus he visited on his way to Baghdad. Benjamin was a merchant, and though the object most at his heart seems to have been to note the number and conditions of the Jews in the different countries, he has preserved some valuable information relating to their trade and commerce at that period.[2]

Other points of interest which Benjamin noticed were the earthquake[3] which had overtaken Syria shortly before his visit, the Druze in Lebanon,[4] and the Samaritan in South Syria.[5]

Benjamin's information in generally reliable, although he is credulous[6] and has a passion for the marvellous.[7]

Theoderich was a bishop of Wartzburg and he came to

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(1) Wrights, Early Travels, Pp. XXII f., sums up the arguments of Asher for fixing the date about that time. Then he adds that Benjamin was in Antioch immediately after the accession of Bohemond III in 1163.
(2) Ib., XXIII
(3) Benj., 79.
(4) Ib., 80.
(5) Ib., 81.
(6) See for example on the Druze (Benj., 80) and some of his stories (Ib., 84).
(7) Asher, cited by Wright, Early Travels, p. XXIII.

Palestine on pilgrimage (1172), ~~and~~ He was primarily interested in that aspect of the Holy Land. But he describes the country, from a geographical point of view, as a whole, a thing which is new to us in ~~the literature of~~ mediaeval travel literature.(1)

Ibn Jubair was a muslim traveller who came from Spain. He came to the East for learning and pilgrimage, visited Egypt, Hijāz, Iraq and Syria, thence he returned back home.(2)

In Syria Ibn Jubair visited Aleppo, Hamā, Hims, Damascus, 'Akkā and Tyre.(3) The writer was interested in schools, bimaristāns, mosques, sūfīs, social and religious customs and behaviour, and he has left us some useful remarks about most of these things. Sometimes, though, his remarks seem to be lost in his flowery language.(4)

A Cretan monk, Phocas, visited the country in 1185, two years before Hittīn, and left a short description of the Holy Land.(5) His literary style enabled him to draw many ~~an accurate~~ pleasant picture of places he visited, such as Antioch,(6) the springs of Lebanon,(7) Bairūt(8) and 'Akkā. This however does not apply to his pen-pictures of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood.

Burchard of Mt. Zion, had lived for sometime in Jerusalem, (Mt. Zion, hence the name), and at 'Akkā and had travelled in the country before he wrote his book, A Description

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(1) Theoderich travels are published in PPTS, Vol. V. See the introduction to his travels pp. iii - ix.
(2) This is Ibn Jubair's first visit (578/1183 - 581/1185). He paid two subsequent visits to the East, but they are not included in his first visit. See Maqqarī, I, 507-9; al-Ihāta fī Akhbār Ghirnāta, II, 169 ff; EI, art. Ibn Jubair.
(3) Ibn Jubair, 240 ff.
(4) Ibn Jubair, 284, 304.
(5) See PPTS, Vol. V.
(6) Phocas, cc. II and III.
(7) Ib., c. IV.
(8) Ib., C. V. See also C. XIV.

of the Holy Land,[1] in 1283. His information is often the result of personal knowledge and contacts; he interested himself in the antiquities of the country,[2] and drew the first mediaeval map of Palestine. Burchard wrote systematically about the Holy Land and dealt with various products.[3] Religions too were treated by him.[4]

John Maundeville's travels have aroused more interest than most mediaeval travellers.[5] His personality is doubtful, his travels are, in some respects, imaginary, and his stories are, in many cases, marvellous. It may be accepted, however, that he came to Egypt in the Middle of the 14th century,[6] and visited Syria then.

We have three particularly good travellers who came to Syria in the middle of the 14th century - they are Von Suchem, Ibn Batūta, and Poggibousi.

Ludulf von Suchem (or Sudheim) spent five years in the East (1336 - 41) and ten years later wrote Description of the Holy Land.[7] The sections on the routes to the Holy Land and the Holy places, contain accurate reports of what the man saw for himself.[8] His remarks on the towns and markets are very useful for the study of the economic activities of Syria then.[9] His survey of the religious communities of Syria is, however, not as accurate, especially in the case of Islam.

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(1) PPTS, Vol. XII. (2) Burchard, 27, 51, 67, 72.
(3) Ib., 99 ff. (4) Ib., 102 ff.
(5) See what he wrote about himself, Maund., 129; Cf. Ency. Brit, art. Maundeville.
(6) Wright, Early Travels in Palestine, XXVI; Ency. Brit., art. Maundeville.
(7) PPTS, Vol., XII. (8) Suchem, 7 ff.
(9) Ib., 49 (Ramla); 61 (Gaza); 129 f (Damascus); Bairūt, 136 f.

Ibn Batūta, was born in Tanja (Tangier) in 703/1304. His travels covered a large part of the then known world. He reached India and China,[1] Timbiktu, the Sudan and was a guest at the court of the Byzantine Emperor. He spent 29 years travelling. Ibn Batūta dictated his travels from memory, and that might allow for inaccuracies.

Ibn Batūta's route in Syria is not quite clear. But he gave us some valuable information about towns, trades, mosques, teachers, 'Ulamā' and men he met.[2] Unfortunately he was so much impressed by Ibn Jubair's description of Damascus and Aleppo that he copied it verbatum, so that he added very little to our knowledge in this respect.

Niccolo of Poggibonsi[3] travelled in 1346-50, covering Syria, Egypt and Cyprus, as far as the East is concerned.

Poggibonsi wrote his book for the benefit of pilgrims, and wanted to tell them all about travelling. So he discussed interpreters,[4] fees,[5] customs,[6] routes[7] and towns as fully as he possibly could. We are inclined to believe that he exaggerated a little in some of the figures quoted for Damascus,[8] but otherwise we are on safe ground with him.

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(1) See on this point, Travels and Travellers in the Middle Ages, Ed. Newton, P., (London, 1926), 100.
(2) Ibn Batūta, I, 125-255, passim.
(3) A Voyage Beyond the Seas, Jerusalem, 1945.
(4) Pogg., (introduction), p. XVI.
(5) Ib., 76.
(6) Ib., 125 f.
(7) Ib., 64, 84, 114, 119.
(8) Ib., 77 f.

Of the travellers of the 15th century[1] we are interested in Bertrandon de la Brocquiere (1433-9).

Brocquiere landed at Jaffa in 1433, then he went to Ramla and Jerusalem. Subsequently he visited Sinai, but not Egypt, and after a short stay in Palestine, where he spent some time in the north, he proceeded to Damascus, Hamā and Antioch and from there to Asia Minor.

Brocquiere travelled with an open mind and he was an observant man. His account of the places he visited is very useful. He noticed trades, commerce,[2] markets, foreign communities,[3] organization,[4] manners, and social customs. In all these matters we relied on him for the early years of the 15th century.

It is worth our while to add a remark on the difference between the writings of the christian travellers of the 12th and 13th centuries and those of the 14th and 15th centuries.

In the first two centuries travellers wrote to inform their compatriots of the Holy Land - its sanctuaries, Biblical history, routes leading to the country and ways of reaching it. Pilgrims, who went to the Holy Land in large numbers, needed guide-books.

After the fall of the Latin states, many of the travellers came to the East with the purpose of trying to see how could Europe best reconquer Syria. This is the main reason, we believe, why we find so many detailed information about the towns, fortifications, armies and details of political life.

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(1) For other travellers see Poloner, in PPTS, Vol., VI. and Lannoy, Voyages et Embassades (Mons; 1840).
(2) Brocq., 298. (3) Ib., 295.
(4) Ib., 298.

V.

Of modern works on Syria in the 13th and 14th centuries a few merit a special attention.

Gaudfroy - Demombynes' La Syrie a l'epoque des Mamlouks d'apres les Auteurs Arabes (Paris, 1923) is a very valuable work. Essentially it is a translation of Qalqashandī's sections on Syria. But Gaudfroy - Demombynes added large parts from al-Masālik of al-'Umarī, and thus enabled us to be acquainted with the geographical information contained in this great work, itself one of the main sources of al-Qalqashandī. Besides, Gaudfroy - Demombynes annotated his book, thus explaining more than an ambiguous passage in both Qalqashandī and 'Umarī.

W. Heyd's Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age (2nd edition, Leipzig, 1923), deals with natural products, trades and industries, routes and commercial activities of the Levant in the Middle Ages on a scale which makes it a book of reference for the economic life of Mediaeval Syria. Heyd has made a good study of original documents, travel books, treaties and official archives of the Middle Ages, that the book has become a guide for such papers in addition to its wealth of information on trade.

The late Jean Sauvaget has been often quoted in this study. His works on inscriptions relating to Islamic monuments in Syria, published in various learned magazines (see Bibliography for those used here) made such material accessible to students of history. His Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Ville

de Damas (REI, 1934, 421-80) is a very concise study of the development of this city. Not only his conclusions, but his maps are a great help. His ability to see clearly the relation between the many factors and the development of Damascus, is a trait of this great scholar.

In Alep (Paris, 1941) Sauvaget developed the methods and widened the scope he had followed in the Esquisse. Here he studied Aleppo more fully, and the volume of plates is an unequalled service to study of the history of that city.

Again Sauvaget has cleared for us the barīd (postal) organization under the Mamlūks (La Poste aux Chevaux dans l'Empire des Mamlouks, Paris, 1941). The history, the organization, the disintegration and the importance of the postal system were clarified, and the ground cleared for any further study.

Claude Cahen (La Syrie du Nord a l'epoque des Croisades, Paris, 1940) has rendered students of history a great service when he discussed (pp. 32-93) the Arabic sources for the history of Syria in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. His analysis of the various works, trying to relate and internelate them, has not been an easy job, but it has put students at home with their authorities.

H. Laoust's work on Ibn Taymiyya (Essai sur des Doctrines Sociales et Politiques de Taki-D-Dīn Ahmad B. Taymiya, Cairo, 1939), is a balanced discussion not only of the faqīh's theories, but of Hanbalism in Damascus, and of the transmission of Ibn Taymiyya's teaching to, and their influence on the Wahhābīs. The book has helped us in understanding Ibn Taymiyya's views on

some problems of his age, such as man and his community.

No student of Muslim history can ever fail to remember Brockelmann's Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur. It is everybody's scholarly guide.

VI

The thesis presented here is a study of Urban Life in Muslim Syria during the 13th and 14th centuries. We have felt, occasionally, the necessity of dealing with the 12th century because of the relation between it and the subsequent period.

Chapter I (Syria in the 13th and 14th centuries) is a general survey of the political and economic structure of the country. Here, in addition to the main political events, the administration of the country and Iqtā', the basic economic structure, are dealt with somewhat fully.

In Chapter II (Centres of Urban Life) Syrian towns are treated in relation to the factors which controlled or decided their growth or decay. These factors, whether physical, historical or circumstantial, have been analyzed at some length.

Then the Syrian town under the early Mamlūks, its elements, physical and social, are discussed in Chapter III (Syrian Town under the Mamlūks).

Chapter IV (Town Administration) deals with the administration of the town. Al-Muḥtasib is treated as fully as our sources have allowed us to do, because of the part he played in the social and economic life of the town.

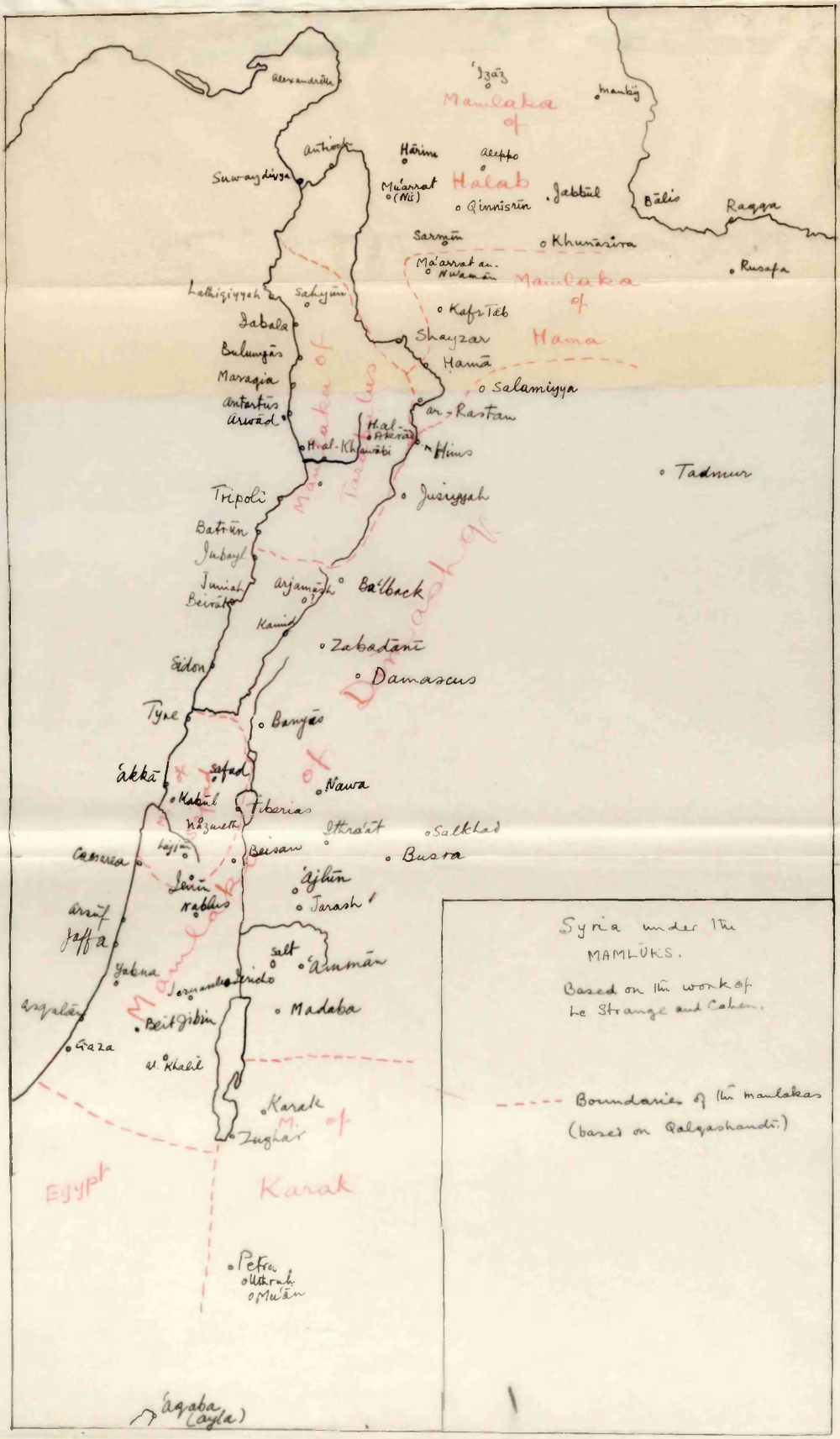
Syria led an active economic life during this period.

The extent of this activity, both in trades and commerce is treated in Chapter V. (Economic Life). Besides, some economic problems of the town, mainly in connection of the provisioning of towns and arrangements in this connection, are examined here.

Social institutions in towns, their nature and their functions, are the subject of Chapter VI (Social Institutions). The discussion here covers mosques, schools, bimāristāns, Sūfī institutions, guilds and Futuwwa. Their service to the public and the State is examined.

In Chapter VII (Intellectual Life) we have tried to define the characteristics and value of intellectual life in Syria in the period. We have attempted to show the richness of the spiritual experience and the limits of the theological thought during the period. A word about the role of the 'Ulamā' concludes this Chapter.

To face p. 1.


Alexandretta
Antioch
Suwaydiyya
'Izāz
Manbij
Mamlaka of Halab
Ḥārim
Aleppo
Mu'arrat (Nū)
Qinnisrīn
Jabbūl
Bālis
Raqqa
Sarmīn
Khunāṣira
Rusafa
Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān
Mamlaka of Hama
Lattiqiyyah
Sahyūn
Kafr Lāb
Jabala
Shayzar
Bulunyās
Ḥamā
Marqiya
Salamiyya
Antarṭūs
Arwād
ar-Rastan
Ḥal-Akrād
Ḥal-Khawābi
Ḥimṣ
Tadmur
Tripoli
Jusiyyah
Batrūn
Jubayl
Jūniah
Beirūt
'Arjamūk
Ba'lback
Kamid
Zabadānī
Ṣīdon
Damascus
Tyre
Banyās
'Akkā
Safad
Nawa
Kabūl
Tiberias
Nāzareth
Ithrā'āt
Salkhad
Caesarea
Legion
Beisan
Busra
'Ajlūn
Lūbiā
Nablus
Jarash
'arsūf
Jaffa
Salt
'Ammān
Yabna
Jerusalem
Jericho
Madaba
Ashqalān
Beit Jibrīn
Gaza
el-Khalīl
Karak
Mamlaka of Karak
Zughar
Egypt
Petra
Ukhtrah
Mu'ān
'Aqaba (Aylah)
Syria under the MAMLŪKS.
Based on the work of Le Strange and Cahen.
Boundaries of the mamlakas (based on Qalqashandī)

C H A P T E R O N E

S Y R I A I N T H E T H I R T E E N T H A N D F O U R T E E N T H C E N T U R I E S

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY

II. THE ADMINISTRATION OF SYRIA

III. IQṬĀ'

IV. THE PEOPLE OF SYRIA

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY

(1) The Ayyubīds

In 567/1171 Saladin put an end to the Fatimid Caliphate. His concern now was the consolodation of his power in Egypt. But he moved cautiously, as he could not afford to alienate his suzerain, Nūr ad-Dīn of Damascus. The latter's death in 571/1174 left Saladin free. A journey to Syria late in the same year secured Damascus,[1] Hims and Hamā. An armed victory in the following year brought Aleppo[2] within his dominions.

Now he could prepare himself to deal with the Crusaders. The battle of Hittīn (583/1187) was the culminating point in Saladin's military career. Not long after (589/1193) he died at Damascus.

Saladin had founded an empire and established a dynasty. His three sons inherited the empire. This led to jealousies and feuds which came to a temporary end when al-Ādil succeeded to a large part of Saladin's possessions (Damascus 592/1196 and Egypt 596/1200). Another period of dissensions followed the death of al-Ādil (615/1218) and lasted till his

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(1) Abū Shāma, Rawdatayn, I, 235-6.

(2) Ib., I, 248f.

son, al-Kāmil, secured Egypt and Damascus (626/1228).[1]

Both father and son, al-Kāmil and al-Ādil, were ready to negotiate with the Latins, especially in times of pressure. Thus we find that al-Ādil concluded a truce in 594/1196[2]; another in 604/1207 (with Tripoli)[3] and a third in 609/1212.[4] Another interesting treaty was concluded with the Latins by al-Manṣūr of Ḥamā in 601/1204.[5]

Al-Kāmil's reign is remarkable for the 6th Crusade of Frederick which resulted, through diplomacy and negotiations, in the surrender of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth to the Emperor, while the Sultan reserved the protection of al-Haram ash-Sharīf for the Muslims (626/1229).[6]

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(1) Al-Kāmil attacked Damascus and wrested it from an-Nāṣir in 626 (Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 154), who gave it to al-Ashraf (ib., 156). In 635/1237 al-Kāmil attacked Damascus again and took it from as-Sālih Isma'il. But he ruled only a few weeks (ib. 165) and died in the city (ib. 166).

(2) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 13; Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, III, 99. (By its terms Jaffa remained in ruins; the reoccupation of Beirūt and Jubayl was recognized; and the revenues of the district of Sidon were to be shared. Stevenson, 295-6 citing Eracles, Ibn al-Athīr & Abū Shāma).

(3) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, III, 114 I.Athīr (XII, 181) mentions only negotiations for peace.

(4) Stevenson, 298 n.3, citing Sibt ibn al-Jawzī.

(5) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, III, 111.

(6) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 154; Abul Fidā, ib., 148-9; Sulūk, I, 137f.

Al-Kāmil died in 635/1238. His death inaugurated another period of civil war. As-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb eventually succeeded to the Egyptian throne (637/1240), while his uncle, as-Ṣāliḥ Isma'il, had assumed the throne of Damascus (636/1239).[1] They were not favourably disposed towards each other.

The Latin Kingdom was, at this moment, strengthened by the Crusade of Theobald of Navarre (1239).[2] This fitted very nicely with the strained conditions between Damascus and Cairo. Both capitals sought alliance with the Latins, and it was as-Ṣāliḥ Isma'il of Damascus who won the day with the Franks. The treaty led to the surrender of Safad and Shaqīf Arnūn (Belfort) in 638/1240 [3] to the Templars.

Ayyūb found new allies in the Khawārizmians, who, driven from Central Asia by the Tartars, appeared in Northern Syria in 638/1240,[4] and readily accepted his offer. In 642/1244 near Gaza, Ayyūb and the Khawārizmians defeated Isma'il and his Latin allies.[5] Jerusalem was occupied, Damascus retaken (643/1245)[6] and 'Asqalān recaptured (645/1247).[7]

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(1) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 168.

(2) The expedition achieved very little, namely the Latins were convinced to rebuild 'AsqalĒn. A party of Crusaders were met by Muslims near Gaza and defeated in 637/1239 (ib.170).

(3) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 170.

(4) In 636 the Khawārizmians reached as far as Hims (Abul Fidā, TĀrīkh, III, 171). But it was in 638 that they appeared in large numbers and ravaged a large part of the country (ib., 175-6). See also A'taq, quoted in Mashriq, XXXIII(1935),221.

(5) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 174.

(6) Ib., 175.

(7) Ib., 180.

Realizing how valuable their services to Ayyūb were, the Khawārizmians sought more privileges from him. Failing to secure what they wanted, they revolted and made themselves masters of Palestine, gave Jerusalem and Nablus to an-Nāṣir of Karak, and sided with Ismā'īl in his seige of Damascus. The city would have been occupied, were it not for the help that the masters of Aleppo and Hims gave to Ayyūb. Damascus was saved, Ba'lbeck was taken from Ismā'īl, and an-Nāṣir's possessions, including Karak, were confiscated.(1) After this both Ismā'īl and the Khawārizmians ceased to be effective in Syrian politics.

Ayyūb was followed by his son Mu'aẓẓam Tūrānshāh, who died in 648/1250.(2) Damascus(3) fell to an-Nāṣir Yusuf of Aleppo (634/1236 - 658/1260).

The Ayyūbīds lingered in various Syrian towns after the Mamlūks established their rule. Thus an-Nāṣir Yusuf remained master of Aleppo and Damascus down to the Mongol's invasion in 658/1260.(4) While al-Ashraf of Hims remained till 661 when, at his death, Baybars acquired his possessions.(5) Al-Mughīth of Karak was killed by Baybars who confiscated his mamlaka.(6)

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(1) Ib. 178.

(2) With the murder of Tūrānshāh the Ayyūbīds came to an end in Egypt. (Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 185).

(3) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 186. An-Nāṣir attempted the conquest of Egypt but failed. (ib.)

(4) Ib., 203. An-Nāṣir was taken to Hulago, who killed him in 659 in revenge of the defeat of his armies at 'Ayn Jalūd (Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, III, 221).

(5) Abul Fidā, ib., 227.

(6) Ib., 226.

Hamā had a slightly different case. In 698/1298 al-Muẓaffar, its malik died, and the town was annexed to the Mamlūks.(1) But in 710/1310 al-Mu'ayyad Abul Fidā Ismā'īl, the historian, was restored as a "malik"(2) under Mamlūk sovereignty. He was followed by his son who, in 742/1341, was deposed and a nāyib appointed in his place.(3)

(2) The Mamlūks

The Mamlūks who succeeded to the Ayyūbids in 648/1250, ruled Egypt and Syria down to the Ottoman conquest (923/1517). Their rule is usually divided into two periods. The first, known as the Baḥrī period extends down to 783/1382, and the second, the Burji period covers the years down to 923/1517. In this study we are concerned with the first of the two, and this survey, therefore, will only deal with the Bahri Mamlūks.

The Mamlūks established (in 648/1250) a military rule, which continued throughout their long reigns. The throne was, generally speaking, the prize of personal prowess, courage and daring. But the reigning Sultan had always to have an open eye and a strong body-guard: then he would be able to carry out

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(1) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 43.

(2) Ib. 62-3.

(3) Ibn Wardi, II, 333.

his works. Even when Baybars and Qalāwūn attempted at hereditary monarchy, the principle was not accepted by the amīrs. Where it succeeded, the success was due more to the personality of the ruler than to the respect of the principle. The Mamlūks considered the Sultan as primus inter pares.(1)

Not only the Sultan, but each amīr, had his own bodyguard, or personal army of slaves, which he bought from his private purse. As the Sultan commanded bigger incomes, he could provide a bigger army. But when he failed his adherents, they might choose to ally themselves with his enemies and then he would be overthrown.

The Ayyūbids had secured the approval and blessings of the Abbassid Caliph for their authority. The first Mamlūk (Aybak) enjoyed a similar privilege. But the Abbassid Caliphate was destroyed in 656/1258 and thus Qutuz and Baybars could not secure legalized positions. Baybars however solved the problem for himself and his successors when he revived the Abbassid Caliphate in Cairo (659/1260).(2)

The Caliph then delegated his authority, as commander of the faithful, to the Sultan, who bore various titles, one of

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(1) G-B, Syrie, XXX.

(2) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 213. This was the first attempt. Abū Shāma quotes a part of the letter (from Cairo) received in Damascus which states that the idea behind the creation of the caliphate was "to have a religious head whose presence would legalize matters". However this caliph was killed in the following year, and another 'Abbāsīd was found and made caliph in 661 (ib. 321).

which was "Qasīm-amir-al-Muminīn".(1) The Sultan himself thought of himself as the "owner" (Ṣāḥib) of the empire.(2) In its authority, conception and military structure the Mamlūk State was a continuity of the Caliphate.(3)

The Mamlūks remained a military aristocracy: they monoplized military offices, and left clerical and judicial offices to the Egyptians and Syrians.

(3) The Mamlūks in Syria

During the period of the Bahri Mamlūks, Syria was a front-post of Egypt, as it has been in more than one period of her history. In the 13th and 14th centuries two dangers threatened the life of the Mamlūk Empire. One was the Latins in Syria and the other included the Mongol invasions into the country. And it is to the credit of the Mamlūks that they succeeded in averting the two dangers.

By 658/1260 the Mamlūks became masters of Muslim Syria with the exception of enclaves of Ayyūbids and other smaller ones such as that of the Assassins. The Latins were

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(1) Van Berchem, Arabische Inschriften, p.4, where Baybars is referred to in an inscription from Hims (664 H.) as Qasim Amīr al-Muminīn. Again in an inscription from the year 669 from Qal'at al-Hisn (ib. p.13).

(2) Corpus I, 279 & 280 where al-Ashraf Sha'bān is referred to as Sahib of Egypt and Syria in 764/1363.

(3) G-D., Syrie, XLVIII.

then in possession of the coastal parts of Palestine and Syria: the political units were the Kingdom of Jerusalem, with 'Akkā as the capital,[1] and the other was a kind of an Antioch-Tripoli entente. Outside both were the military orders which sprang out of the Crusades, but became too strong to be controlled by the princes. There were the Templars, the Knights Hospitallers and the Teutonic order. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers had their centre at Hisn al Akrād, the Templars made 'Akkā and other places their headquarters and the Teutons were stronger in the south.

The conflict with the Latins took the shape of a Mamlūk vehement attack and Latin weak defence. The result was that in 691/1291 the last of the Latin strongholds fell.

For the sake of brevity and convenience the Mamlūk campaigns will be given in tabular form.

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(1) Since Saladin's occupation of Jerusalem in 583/1187 'Akkā became the capital of the Kingdom.

A. BAYBAR'S CAMPAIGNS

659-63/1261-5	Raids into the lands of 'Akkā and Antioch.[1]
663/1265	Arsuf[2] and Caesarea[3] were taken.
664/1266	'Arqa, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and Safad[4] occupied.
666-667/1268	Jaffa, Shaqīf, Arnūn (Belfort) and Antioch[5] were taken.
670/1271[6]	Hisn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers) was captured, with 'Akkār and Qurayn.[7]

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(1) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 233; Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, III, 227; Ibn Iyās, I, 107; Cahen 713-22.

(2) Abū Shāma, ib., 234.

(3) Ib., 233.

(4) Abul Fidā, ib., IV,3; Mufaddal, (II 499-1) Ibn KathIr,XIII,246

(5) Mufaddal, 4-5 (Given in 666); Sulūk, I, 564-8. The editor of Sulūk publishes (ib., 966) a letter, quoted from Nuwayrī, sent by Baybars to Bohemond VI of Tripoli and Antioch in which the latter is informed of the conquest of Antioch by Baybars (667/1268). At the conquest of 'Akkār (669/1270) Baybars sent a similar letter to Bohemond (ib. 972). See also Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 251-2.

(6) Baybars concluded treaties with the Latins in 662/1266 (Sulūk, I, 505); and in 665/1268 (ib., 559).

(7) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 6-7. For a general account of Baybars' conquests see Nujum, VII, 111f; Sulūk, I, 523ff.

B. AN-NASIR QALAWUN'S EXPEDITIONS[1]

685/1285	Marqab was conquered.[2]
687/1287	Lādhiqiyah[3] was seized.
688/1288	Tripoli fell[4]

C. AL-ASHRAF KHALI'S CAMPAIGN

690/1291	'Akkā[5] fell after which Tyre,[6] Sidon and Beirut surrendered.[7]

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(1) Between 680/1281 and 684/1285 an-Nāsir concluded many treaties with the Latins; in 680/1281 with the Hospitallers (Zubdat al-Fikra, IX, folios 124aff); in 681/1282 with Antartus (Quatremer's Makrīzī, ii, i, 221; in 682/1283 with 'Akkā (Ibn Furāt, quoted in full by editor of Sulūk, I, 985-97); and in 684/1285 (Stevenson, 348 n.4 citing Quatremer ii.i.213.)

(2) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 22.

(3) Ib., 23.

(4) Ib., 24.

(5) Ib., 25-6; Jazarī, 4-6; Zubdat al-Fikra (MS), IX, 168bff. Sulūk, I, 763-7; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 321f; Nujum VII, 5f (the last two give the date as 691).

(6) Jazarī, 6.

(7) Arwād (Aradus) remained in the hands of the Latins down to 702/1303 when it was conquered under an-Nāsir (Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 49). Europe, however, never gave up the idea of reconquering Syria and attaching Egypt. Salih ibn Yahya, mentions attacks on Beirut in the years 698/1299, 734/1335, 784/1382, 806/1403 and on Tripoli in 806 (pp.3, 35-7). See also Jazarī, 83, for 698. For a full discussion of European plans and attempts on the Arab world see Atiyah, Crusade, Part IV; (Kohlerich), Deux Projets de Croisade en Terre-Sainte, ROL, X, 406-57.

The Mongols threatened Syria as early as 638/1240 when they attacked Antioch and for years their presence was felt through their razziahs.(1) But it was after they had taken Baghdad in 656/1258 that they became a real menace to the country. The encounters between the Mamlūks and the Mongols may be summed up as follows:-

1. 658/1260 In this year Kutbugha led his armies to Syria. The north was devastated and the armies had reached Gaza, Hebron and Karak,(2) when Qutuz led his Egyptian army to 'Ayn Jalūd, where the Mongols suffered a defeat.(3)

2. 670-2/1271-2 The Mongols raided North Syria.(4)

3. 680/1281 Mankutamur led his hordes of Mongols and ravaged the northern parts. An-Nāsir Qalawun met and defeated Mankutamur in the Battle of Hims.(5)

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(1) Mirat ez-Zaman, 491; Suluk, I, 269; Ibn Kathir XIII, 182; Nujum VI, 296, 322-6; VII, 25; Zubdat il-Fikrah fols. 37b-38a; Cahen 699-713.

(2) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 204-6.

(3) Ib., 207-8; Zubdat il-Fikrah, IX, fols.38-40; Tārīkh ad-Dawlah at-Turkiyah, fols. 4b-6a; Abul Fidā, III, 209-217; Ibn al-'Ibrī, 486-92; Sauvaget, Alep, 160. For the foreigners' impression of the danger of the Mongols, see ROL, II, 206-215 where Delaborde has published letters written by Christian chiefs in the East to various dignitaries in Europe, asking for help.

(4) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 7. See also Cahen, 703-13.

(5) Abul Fidā, IV, 15-6; Tārīkh al-Islām, vol.XI, fols.65b-66a; Ibn Iyās I, 115; Durrat el-Aslāk, fols. 19a-20a; Zubdat il-Fikrah, IX, fols. 114a-124a; Suluk, I, 690-7; Sauvaget, Alep, 160.

4. 698-99/1298-99 Ghāzān[1] led his armies into Syria and captured the North. At Hims he was met by an-Nāsir Muhammad, who was defeated at the Battle of Wādī el-Khazandar. He proceeded south and occupied Damascus[2] which he and his troops devastated and of whose population about 100,000 were killed[?] Ghāzān, however, evacuated Damascus in 700/1300, leaving his representative to govern the city.[3]

5. 702/1303 Qutlushāh came to Syria. At Marj-as-Suffar he was met by an-Nāsir Muhammad and at the Battle of Shaqhab the Mongols were utterly routed.[4]

6. 712/1312[5] The Mongols attempted to reach Syria, but they were defeated even before they entered the country at Mārdīn.

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(1) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 44f.; Zettersteen 58; Mufaddal, 634-5; Zubdat il-Fikrah, fols. 206a-222a; Suluk, I, 886-96; Ibn Iyas, I, 115; Sauvaget, Alep, 160. Ghāzān's men reached as far south as Jerusalem and Gaza (Suluk I, 896).

(2) Zettersteen 59-76; Mufaddal 636-44, 657; Suluk I, 886-96.

(3) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 47; Zettersteen, 75; Mufaddal, 636-44; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 8-11; Suluk, I, 889-96.

(4) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 50-1; Ar-Rawd az-Zāhir quoted Suluk, I, 1027ff.; Ibn Kathir XIV, 23-7; Suluk, I, 930-7; Ibn Iyas I, 144; Zubdat il-Fikrah fols 229b-243b; Tārīkh ed-Dawlah at-Turkiyah, 23-24; Abul Fidā took part in this battle (Suluk I, 936).

(5) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 72; Sauvaget, Alep, 160.

7. 800/1402[1] Tamerlane ~~Timur~~ swept the country, devastating, killing, and ravaging as much as it was humanly possible. Aleppo, Hims, Ba'lbeck and Damascus fell to his sword. He withdrew because of the Ottoman danger in the north. Only his death in 1405 saved Syria from a worse fate than it had suffered at the hand of a Mongol.[2]

Two districts in Syria presented the early Mamlūks with trouble, Qilā' ad-Da'wa, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, and Kisrawan in central Lebanon.

The Assassins gained a foothold in Syria in the times of Ridwan of Halab, late in the 5th (11th) century. Gradually they secured the possession of several fortresses and castles in the southern sections of the Nuseriyah Mountains.

Already in the 6th (12th) century they possessed Banyas, Hisn Masyaf, Kahf, Qadmūs, 'Ullaiqa and al-Khawabi.[3] These castles were known to writers of the 8th (14th) and 9th (15th) centuries as Qilā' ad-Da'wa.[4]

When Baybars started his campaigns against the Latins, he found the Assassins to be formidable enemies of his, and they sometimes allied themselves with his enemies. Besides

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(1) ʿAjāyib il-Maqdūr 181-202; Ibn esh-Shihnah.

(2) Timur's destruction in Damascus is given by the author of Ajayib il-Maqdūr, 202ff.

(3) El art. Assassins.

(4) Qalq., IV, 146.

the Assassins were Isma'īlīs, while Baybars represented the official Sunnis. It was natural that at the first opportunity he would see that they were removed. In 671/1272 he led an expedition against them, took their fortresses and put an end to their independent existence.(1)

It was left for an-Nāṣir Muḥammad to deal with the people of Kisrawān. They were Maronites, and felt secure in their mountaineous country. They hardly recognised the authority of the Mamlūks. The Mamlūks were vexed and an expedition was sent to Kisrawān and Jurd in 699/1299.(2)

This however proved to be insufficient and another punitive expedition was dispatched in 705/1305 which succeeded in bringing them to obedience.(3) Turkmen were stationed on the coast of Kisrawān as a post against any further activity. One of those Turkmen, Sulaymān, founded the castle of Ghazīr for his own garrison.(4)

Besides those campaigns on Syrian soil, the Mamlūks led several expeditions against Armenia. These campaigns concern us here in as much as they were marched through Syria, and thus they show the strategic importance of the country of this period.

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(1) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 6-7. Sulak I, 586-7; El ibid.

(2) Ibn Kathir, XIV, 12; Salih ibn Yahya, 32-33. An earlier expedition had been sent in 691 (Jazarī, 17).

(3) Durrat al-Aslak, (Marsh 586) year 705.

(4) Durrat, ibid; Yahya, 33, 42; Sheikho. Mashriq III (1900) 215; Awaad, Mashriq, XL, (1942-3) 14-18; Duwayhī, 125.

1. Baybars led an army against Armenia, when Sīs was destroyed in 666/1267; Haythūm, the Armenian king, accepted Mamlūk protectorate and paid an annual tribute.(1)

2. During the Mongol invasions, Armenia repudiated her treaty with the Mamlūks, so in 701/1301 an-Nāsir(2) sent a punitive expedition that defeated the Armenians, and ravaged the country as far as Sīs.

3. But an-Nāsir had to punish the Armenians a second time after the battle of Marj-as-Suffar, because they again sided with the Mongols. This campaign of 703/1303 was successful.(3)

4. This campaigning had to be repeated in 705/1305 when the Mamlūks, under Qarasunqur Governor of Aleppo, were defeated.(4)

5. This defeat was revenged by an-Nāsir whose armies conquered several Armenian towns and castles in 714/1314. Finally Armenia was reduced to a tributary status in 722/1322. This tribute and treaty was enforced at the point of the sword in 736/1335.(5)

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(1) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 5. Suluk I, 510.

(2) Zettersteen, 128-9.

(3) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 53.

(4) Ib.

(5) Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 90, 94; Ibn Khaldūn V, 420, 427, 430. Cam. Med. Hist. IV, 108.

II. ADMINISTRATION OF SYRIA

(1) Historical

By the time the Mamlūks secured the inner parts of Syria, the "Mamlaka" system had already developed there. There were already the Mamlakas of Ḥalab, Ḥamāh, Hims, Dimashq and Karak. It is interesting to the historian to note that Yaqūt, who wrote early in the 7th (13th) century does not deal with the political divisions of ash-Sham (Syria) as they existed. To him the Mamlakas (kingdoms) were independent and not divisions of one entity. The only administrative divisions he recognised were the old jund divisions,[1] which had already become a matter of academic interest only.

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(1) Yaqūt, III, 240. When the Arabs conquered Syria they divided the country into military districts, "junds". The term was retained by early Arab chroniclers and geographers down to the 4th (10th) century. Al-Muqaddisī, however, omitted the word jund and used "Kūra" (district) (Muqaddisī, 154) for the six administrative districts of Syria. They were Qinnasrīn, Hims, Dimashq, al-Urdun, Filastīn and ash-Sharā (ib. 154-5).

The Crusaders' conquest of the coast, and their expansion in Palestine and Transjordan, left the Arabs with the eastern parts of Qinnisrīn, Hims, Dimashq, and ash-Sharā (to the south of Karak). As a result of a practice going back to the time of the Saljūks, the governor of such a district came to be known as malik (lit. king). This practice continued under the Zangīds and Ayyubids. The district itself was known as "mamlaka". With the reconquest of parts of Syria under the Ayyūbīds a new mamlaka came to existence - al-Karak. Other parts were added to the mamlaka of Dimashq.

The first political geographer worthy of consideration after the completion of the conquest of Syria is ad-Dimashqi who wrote c.700/1300. He mentions eight kingdoms[1] - Dimashq, Hims, Halab, Hamāh, as-Sāhil (Tripoli), Safad, al-Karak and Gaza.[2]

Abul-Fidā, who wrote c.721/1321, again gives the five junds of Syria, quoting Ibn al-Athīr, but when he proceeds to describe the junds he goes back to the earlier geographers.[3]

Al-ʿUmarī,[4] writing early in the 8th (14th) century mentions six mamlakas,[5] namely Dimashq, Halab, Hamāh, Tripoli, Safad and al-Karak.

In his great encyclopaedia Subh al-Asha, al-Qalqa Shandi, who wrote about 821/1418, follows al-Umari and mentions six mamlakas,[6] Dimashq, Halab, Hamāh, Tripoli, Safad and al-Karak.

The last author we shall consider here is Khalil ibn Shahin az-Zāhirī,[7] who wrote in the middle of the 9th (15th)

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(1) Dimashqi, (Nukhbat ad-Dahr fī ʾajāyib al-barr wal-bahr), 192.

(2) Dimashqi refers to Mamlakat ar-Rūm, which had been lost to the Byzantines (ib.)

(3) Abul Fidā, Taqwīm al-Buldān, 225-7.

(4) Masalik al-Absar and Taʾrif.

(5) Taʾrif (Hart) 24ff.

(6) Qalq., IV. 91, 116, 139, 142, 149, 155.

(7) Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik.

century. He gives the names of seven Mamlakas, namely, Gaza, Al-Karak, Dimashq, Ḥalab, Safad, Ḥamāh and Tripoli.(1) But az-Ẓāhirī mentions two other Mamlakas, as-Skandaria(2) and Malatiyah.(3) He explains the latter by saying that it was conquered in the time of an-Nasīr and organized a Mamlaka on its own. The former was mentioned once only, while the seven Syrian Mamlakas proper were given twice - once in the general reference(4) and again when dealt with more fully.(5)

From an examination of the material summed up above, we reach the following conclusions.

(1) Our authors are agreed on the existence of six mamlakas - Dimashq, Halab, Hamah, Tripoli, Safad and al-Karak.

(2) The position of Gaza seems to have differed considerably. Dimashqi and az-Zahiri, with nearly a century and a half between them, give it the status of a mamlaka. They are supported, we may add, by a statement coming down to us from the year 801/1400, where Gaza is referred to as a Niyabah, with equal status as Dimashq, and Halab, [illegible].(6) Al-Umari and

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(1) MS, folios, 24-31, 81-3, Zub.(R), 42-9.

(2) MS, 81-3; Zub.(R), 134.

(3) MS, 31; Zub.(R), 52.

(4) Zub.(R), 42.

(5) Zub.(R), 42-51.

(6) Nujum (Pop.), V, 601.

Al-Qalqashandi[1] consider Gaza as attached to the Mamlaka of Dimashq. We should like to add here that al-Qalqashandi relies on his older authority for his statement. But as al-Qalqashandi held the headship of Dīwān al-Insha, he must have known the existing conditions in his time. The same authoritative knowledge, applies to ez-Ẓāhirī, who, too, was a high official of the state. It is possible for us to say that Gaza was first created as a Mamlaka (Dimashqi). But sometimes after 801/1400 it became a part of the mamlaka of Dimashq (Umari and Qalqashandi). By the time of ez-Ẓāhirī it was made a mamlaka again. The making and unmaking of a mamlaka at the time was far from being a serious problem. A strong amir could easily impose his wishes on a weak Sultan either way.

(3) By the time Umari wrote, the Mamlaka of Hims had disappeared as a separate political unit. It went to enlarge the mamlaka of Dimashq.

(4) The odd mamlaka of ar-Rūm represents what had been called jund ath-Thughur by earlier writers. Even Qalqashandi mentions Niyābāt "which are outside al-bilād ash-Shāmiyya."[2]

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(1) Tathqif. (MS), 46a.

(2) Qalq, IV, 228-9.

(2) The Mamlakas of Syria

We shall discuss now the Syrian mamlakas in general terms, following mainly 'Umarī and Qalqashandī, allowing ourselves only references to other works, mainly for sake of comparison.

(A) Mamlaka of Dimashq[1] extended from the north of Hims to the north of al-Karak and covered Palestine from the Sinai Desert to Marj Ibn-'Āmir. It included too the Syrian coast from Tyre to Jubayl, Southern Lebanon and the Biqa'. To the east it stretched as far as Tadmur, which was the easternmost wilayat of the mamlaka. It was divided into five sections (i) the countryside of Dimashq (al-Barr); (ii) the coastal and mountainous sections with Gaza as its centre.[2] This section covered what is included of Palestine in the Mamlaka with the exception of Baysān. It included Ramla,[3] Ludd, al-Khalīl, Nablus and Qaqūn, each of which was a wilayat.[4] Jerusalem, although usually attached to Gaza, had, apparently

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(1) Ta'rīf (Hart.) 24ff; Qalq. IV, 97-114; G.D., 49-80 where Masalik is quoted. Dimashqi 192-202; and 213-4, where Gaza is treated as a separate mamlaka; Zub. (R) 43-3, 44-8; Zub., (MS) fol. 24-31.

(2) This section constituted the mamlaka of Gaza of DimashqI (213-4), of Nujūm (Pop. V, 601) and of Zāhīri (R.44-8).

(3) Ramleh belonged sometimes to Damascus and sometimes to Gaza (Le Strange 303ff) See Zub., 46 and Ta'rīf (Hart),54,note 3.

(4) Qalq. IV, 199; G-D., 178 Ta'rīf (Hart) 24.

the higher status of a niyaba.[1] Other centres mentioned by 'Umarī are Qaratiya, Beit Jibrīn and ad-Darum (Dayr el-Balaḥ); (iii) the southern section covered a stretch of land from north of al-Karak to the south of Barr Dimashq, and from Marj Ibn-'Amir to the Desert.[2] Its administrative centre was Buṣra with smaller centres Sarkhad and 'Ajlūn[3] (Niyabas) and Beisān, Banyas and Ṣubeibeh, Sha'ara, Idhra'āt, Ḥusban and Salt (wilayas)[4] (iv) the northern section of the mamlaka of Dimashq, included the Biqā', the coast from Tyre to Jubail and the intervening Lebanon. Ba'lback is the only niyaba.[5] But there were four wilayas: Biqa' Ba'labaki, attached to the citadel-city and Biqā' el-'Aziz[6] with Karak-Nūḥ[7] as its

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(1) Qalq. IV, 198; G-D., 173, 176.

(2) Ta'rīf (Hart), 25.

(3) Qalq. IV, 201; G-D., 178-9.

(4) Qalq. IV, 200-1; G-D 179-80. Sometimes as-Salt and Husban were made one wilaya (Qalq. IV, 201). Beisan was the centre of the Ghawr (Ta'rif, Hart., 27). Subeibeh, earlier received a wilaya status because it was a fortress; later it was added to Banyas (Qalq. IV, 200).

(5) Qalq. IV, 201. G-D., 181.

(6) Qalq. IV, 201. G-D., 73, 181.

(7) Ta'rīf (MS), 140b.

centre, inland, and Beirut and Sidon on the coast.[1] (v) The eastern section of the Mamlaka had its centre at Hims and stretched as far as Tadmur.[2] Besides the capital of the section itself, there were three centres of wilayas at Salamiyah, Qara and Tadmur.[3] Misyaf belonged to Hims at one time.[4]

It is clear from this short survey that the Mamlaka of Dimashq was far from constituting a provincial unit. We see the expediency and wisdom of separating at least Gaza from it, as was the case in the 7th (14th) century.[5]

(B) Mamlaka of Halab[6] covered the northern parts of Syria, and stretched from Maarra in the south to Sis in the north, and from Balis on the Euphrates to the Mediterranean.[7] Within this mamlaka there were fourteen niyābas and twelve wilayas.[8] The former group included Kakhta, Karkar, Bahasna, 'Ayntāb, ar-Rawandān, Darbasāk, Baghrās, Quṣair, Shughr and

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(1) Qalq. IV., 202; G-D., 181-2.

(2) Qalq. IV., 112.

(3) Ta'rif (Hart) 29.

(4) Qalq. IV., 202, where it is given as niyāba.

(5) Again in the time of aẓ-Ẓāhirī.

(6) Qalq. IV. 118-30, 137-9; G-D. 85-97, 102-5; Tarif (Hart) 31-4; Tārif (MS) folios 141b-42a; Dimashqi 202-6; Zub., 49-52; Zub (MS) f24-31.

(7) Qalq. IV. 226-7, 229; G-D, 214-6, 219.

(8) Qalq., 226, 229, 230.

Bakkas, Shayzar, al-Birah and Ja'bar.[1] The latter group, the wilayas, were Barr Halab, Kafr-Tab, Sarmīn, Jabbūl, Jabal Sim'ān, 'Azāz, Tall-Bāshir, Manbij, Tizīn, al-Bāb and Buzā'a, Darkūsh and Antioch.[2]

It is both interesting and important to note that most of the niyabas were fortresses, while the wilayas were ordinary administrative centres. This was imposed on the Mamlūks by the nature of their warlike relations with the Armenians.

(C) Mamlaka of Ḥamā,[3] stretched from Ma'arrā in the north to ar-Rastan in the south. To the west it was bordered by Qilā' ad-Da'wah. Eastwards it extended to the Desert.[4] Ḥamā itself was a niyaba seat, while Barr Ḥamā, Bārīn (Ba'rīn) and Ma'arra were wilaya seats only.[5] Ḥamā was the only big town in the mamlaka.

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(1) The last three were to the east of the Euphrates.

(2) Qalq., IV, 228-9 gives nine great and ten small niyabas, which comprised ath-Thughur and al-Awasim. Most of them are not of Syria proper, so we left them out.

(3) Qalq., IV, 139-42; G-D., 106-9; Ta'rif (Hart) 35; Ta'rif (MS), 141a-142b; Dimashqi, 206-7; Zub. (R) 48-9.

(4) Ta'rif (Hart), 35.

(5) Qalq., IV, 239; G-D., 233.

(D) Mamlaka of Tarabulus[1] included the extreme northern parts of the Lebanon, the coast to the north of Lathiqiya and the Nusayriyah Mountains. This mamlaka was divided into six civic niyabas[2] (Tripoli, Hisn al-Akrad, Marqab, Balatunus, Sahyūn and Lādhiqiyya), six military niyabas (Rusafa, Khawabi, Qadmus, Kahf, Maniqa and Qalaa)[3] and six wilayas.[4]

(E) Mamlaka of Safad[5] covered Galilee with the corresponding coastal plain.[6] Apart from Safad itself this mamlaka had no niyabas. It had however eleven wilayas, which included amongst others Nasira, Ṭabariyya, 'Akkā, Ṣūr and Jinīn.[7]

(F) Mamlaka of al-Karak[8] covered the country from al-Ala to Zizya, which was 20 days travel on camel.[9] It had, besides its own niyaba status, three wilayas with centres at Maan, Zughar, and ash-Shawbak.[10]

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(1) Qalq., IV, 142-9; G-D., 110-7; Dimashqi, 207-9; Zub, 48-9. Ta'rif (Hart) 35-7; Ta'rif (MS) 142b-142a.

(2) Qalq., IV, 144-5.

(3) Qilā ad-Da'wah (Qalq., IV, 146-7).

(4) Qalq., IV, 235; G-D., 226-8.

(5) Qalq., IV, 149-55; G-D., 118-24; Dimashqi, 210-3; Ta'rif (Hart), 37-8; Ta'rif (MS), 142a; Zub., 44.

(6) Qalq., IV, 150.

(7) Qalq., IV, 240-1; G-D., 234-5.

(8) Qalq., IV, 155-7; G-D., 125-34; Dimashqi, 213; Ta'rif (Hart) 38-9; Ta'rif (MS), 142a-143b; Zub., 43-4. G-D., (125-34) has translated Masālik fully.

(9) Zub., 43.

(10) Qalq., IV, 242; G-D., 235-7. Zub., 43, gives Shawbak and Ziza (Zizya).

(3) The Mamlaka - its organisation

In its administration the mamlaka was a replica of the mamlūk sultanate in Egypt. At the head of the administration was nayib as-saltana[1] (Viceroy) sometimes called kafil (defender) al-mamlaka.[2] He commanded the services of three sets of officials, arbāb as-suyūf (men of the sword), ashāb al-waẓāyif ad-dīwāniyya (administrative officers) and ashāb al-waẓāyif ad-dīnīyya (religious officers). Besides he had an army at his disposal.

We shall confine ourselves to the description of the mamlaka of Dimashq, so as to get as clear a picture as we could for the internal administration of a Syrian province in the period under consideration.

Dimashq, the capital, was the seat of the "nayib". The offices attached to him were of three categories, offices of men of the sword, being more important, and held by men of military status,[3] hence the name. All those men were mamlūks, so were the local administrative officers in the niyābas and wilāyas.

The most important of the men of the sword were those connected with supervision of officials and the army

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(1) Qalq., IV, 184.

(2) See Furāt, IX, 344.

(3) Qalq., IV, 185ff.

(nāyib, shādd al-muhimmat; naqīb al-qal'a; naqīb al-jaysh); with the collection of taxes and revenues (shādd ad-dawawin, shādd al-awqaf, shādd az-zakāt, shādd al-'ushr), and with the maintenance of the barīd (postal service).(1)

The Diwani (administrative) offices were not restricted to the mamlūks. As it was, the nature of the work performed by them, which demanded literary skill in many cases, could not be performed by mamlūks.

At the head of the diwānī officers stood the wazir (Minister of State). The office was so purely a diwānī one that Qalqashandi definitely states that it was rarely held by a man of the sword.(2)

Next came katib as-sirr (secretary) who supervised the chancery.

Besides, there were numerous officials,(3) for financial matters, for the general supervision of markets, mosques,(4) barīd, hospitals and other aspects of general welfare.

Religious offices in Dimashq included judicial ones, such as qāḍī al-quḍā', qāḍī 'askar (mufti), semi-judicial (ḥisbah) and educational, such as teaching at the mosques or madrasas.(5)

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(1) Ibid, 185ff; G-D., 146ff.

(2) Qalq., IV, 188.

(3) Ibid., 189-92.

(4) Sometimes purely religious and attached to the shafi'ī qadi. Qalq., IV, 191.

(5) Ibid., 192-3.

The following lists compiled mainly from Qalqashandi, will give a better idea of the offices, in the mamlaka of Dimashq:-

A. Officers drawn from men of the sword:

1. Nayib as-saltana or Kafil al-mamlaka, one of the great amirs.
2. Hājib (chamberlain) who used to be a commander of a thousand. He acted for the naib in his absence, and when the naib fell into disgrace with the Sultan, it was the Hajib's duty to arrest him.(1)
3. Shādd al-muhimmāt (supervisor of important affairs), whose duty was to see to the needs of the Sultan.
4. Naqīb alqal'a (supervisor of the citadel).
5. Naqīb an-nuqaba.
6. Khiznadar, who was in charge of the stores in the citadel, where the royal robes were kept.
7. Naqīb al-jaish.
8. Shādd ad-dawāwīn, whose duty was to see to the revenues.
9. Shādd al-awqāf.
10. Shādd al-khās.
11. Shādd az-Zakāt.
12. Shādd al-'ushr, whose especial duty was the supervision of foreign traders.
13. Shādd dār at-tum.
14. Wālī al-madīna.
15. Mihmandar.
16. Amīr akhūr al-barīd, in charge of the postal horses.
17. Muqaddam al-barīd.(2)

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(1) Ibid., 185-6; G-D., 146f (see his authorities and discussion.

(2) For explanation see Qalq., IV. 185-7; G-D., 143-51.

B. Diwani officers

1. Wazīr.
2. Kātib as-sirr.
3. Nāzir al-jaish, who registered the various iqtāes (fiefs).
4. Nāzir al-muhimmāt ash-sharīfa.
5. Nāzir al-khās.
6. Nāzir al-khizāna.
7. Nāzir al-bimaristan an-nuri.
8. Nāzir al-Jami al-umawī.
9. Nāzir khazain as-silah.
10. Nāzir al-buyut.(1)
11. Nāzir bait al-mal.
12. Nāzir diwan al-nasra.
13. Nāzir al-aswaq.
14. Nāzir marakiz al-barid.
15. Nāzir al-hutat.
16. Nāzir al-masabik.(2)

C. Religious officers

1. Qādī al-qudat of whom four were in Dimashq.
2. Qādī al-'askar.
3. Muftī dar al-'adl.

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(1) Qalq. IV, 191. Nāzir al-buyūt in Cairo attended to the sultan's palace, his kitchen, his drinks and his ghilman (Qalq. IV, 31) in his capacity as attached to the Ustadār (ib., 20 quoting Masālik). After defining the work of nāzir al-buyūt in Dimashq as being equal to his opposite number in Cairo, Qalqashandi adds that he was informed by some people of Dimashq, that the post existed only in name, as there were no royal houses in Dimashq.

(2) [redacted] Qalq. IV 188-191; G.-D., 153-9. Cf. Zub. (R.), 131-5

4. Wakīl bait al-māl.

5. Naqib al-ashrāf.

6. Shaikh ash-shuyūkh.

7. Muhtasib.

8. Men of Tadaris.

Before proceeding any further, we had better make the following remarks on the officers in various provinces of Syria.

(1) We have referred to nayib as-Saltanah as the highest official in the mamlaka. Generally this was the state of affairs. But in two places the nayib had no authority over the citadel: in Damascus,(1) and Halab.(2) The citadel in each case had its own nayib, who was appointed by, and responsible to, the Sultan. Tripoli and Ḥamā had no special nayibs of al-qal'a.(3) Safad and al-Karak were not as important as the first two mamlakas.

(2) Dimashq and Ḥalab had each a wazīr, but Tripoli and Ḥamā had only nāẓir al-mamlaka,(4) a post which had less prestige than that of the wazīr.

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(1) Qalq., IV, 184-5; G-D., 145-6.

(2) Qalq., IV, 217; G-D., 204.

(3) Qalq., IV, 233, 238.

(4) Ibid., 234, 238.

(3) The officers given in the lists above for Dimashq had their corresponding numbers in Halab, with one or more minor differences.(1)

But other mamlakas had less officers. Thus Tripoli had only five dīwānī officers(2) (nāzir al-mamlaka, nāzir al-jaysh, ṣāḥib ad-dīwān, kātib dast and kātib darj). Safad was like Tripoli,(3) al-Karak had the smallest number of officials in each of the three categories.(4)

(4) In certain cases additional officers were appointed for especial duties such as shādd al-bahr (officer of the sea) in Tripoli,(5) muqaddam al-'askar at Jabalah,(6) and nāẓir "dar aḍ-ḍarb" in Tripoli.(7)

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(1) Of arbāb as-suyūf the following officers found in Dimashq, had no equals in Halab.
Shādd al-muhimmāt, naqīb an-nuqabā', khiznadār, naqīb al-jaysh, and shādds of khās, zakat 'ushr and dār at-tu'm. Their work, in cases of muhimmāt, khizana and khās was performed by nāzirs (i.e. diwani officers).
Of the diwani officers Halab lacked nāẓirs of al-buyūt, diwān al-asra, al-aswāq, and al-hutāt.
See Qalq. IV, 217-20.

(2) Ib., IV, 234.

(3) Ib., 240.

(4) See appendix, IV.

(5) Qalq., XII, 457-8.

(6) Ib., 468.

(7) Ib., 478.

Two questions present themselves to us. Who appointed those officers? What were their duties? In trying to answer these two questions we shall confine ourselves only to the major ones.

As for the appointments we may say that no constitution which defined the rights of the sovereign ever existed. Custom and precedent, with the arbitrary choice of the sultan, decided such matters. Generally speaking, key-posts were in his hands. Only minor posts were left for his nayib (Viceroy) to fill at his discretion.

The duties of officers came to be known through custom and practice. Our information comes mainly from marsūms (writs) of appointment showing terms of reference and duties. Fortunately the encyclopaedist writers of the 8th (14th) and 9th (15th) centuries have preserved these valuable documents. In determining the duties of major officers of the state, we rely on such evidence as we could deduce from them.

APPOINTMENT TO OFFICES[1]

	BY THE SULTAN	BY EITHER THE SULTAN OR NAYIB	BY THE NAYIB
Arbāb as-Suyūf	Nayib as-Saltanah Nayib al-Qal'a Special minor Nāyibs[2] Muqaddam of 'Urbān		Wālī and all minor officers[3]
Arbāb al-aqlām	Kātib as-Sirr Nāẓir al-jaysh Nāẓir al-māl.[4]	Kātib dast[5]	Kātib darj[6] clerks
Waẓā'if dīniyyah	Qāḍī al quḍāt Khatīb al[7] Jami'a al-Umawīyah	Qādi 'askar[8] Mufti dār al-'adl Muhtasib	Tadārīs Khitabas[9]
			Waẓa'if sinā-'iyyah.[10]
			Waza'if ahl adh-dhimma[11]

(1) In general terms waza'if arbāb as-Suyuf were divided like this (a) Muqaddam alf (or over) posts were filled by the Sultan; (b) offices of soldiers or m.halqa were filled by the nayib; (c) offices held by tablkhana or m.'ashra could be filled by either Sultan or nayib.

(2) Qalq., IX, 253-4. (3) Qalq., XII, 6. (4) Ib.

(5) Ib. (6) Ib. (7) Ib.; Qalq., IX, 256.

(8) Qalq., XII, 7. (9) Ib. (10) Ib.; IX. 259 (11) Ib.

Central Officers in Syria under the Mamlūks

(Based on Qalqashandī)

	Arbāb as-Suyūf	Diwanī Officers	Religious Officers.
Damascus	21	18 (+14 juniors)	10
Aleppo	22	8	11
Tripoli	12	5	12
Hamā	12	5	7
Safad	12	5	12
Karak	4	3	?
Totals	83	44 + 14	52 = 193[1]

(1) Besides there were tadrīs and khitāba in Damascus and tadrīs and tasdīr in Aleppo.

Administrative Officers in the niyābas and wilāyas of Syria under the Mamlūks

(Qalqashandī)

	Niyābas	Wilāyas	'Urbān
Dimashq	9	16	6
Halab	16	12	
Tarabulus	11	6	
Hamā	1	3	
Safad	2	11	
Karak	1	5	3
Totals	40	53	9

Duties of State Officers

A. Arbāb as-suyūf.

1. Nayib as-saltana or kāfil al-mamlaka: As we gather from documents belonging to the early 8th century A.H.[1] a nayib was responsible for the maintenance of order and security of the mamlaka;[2] for the army of the Sultan and ghazw (waging of wars),[3] which was a usual thing in Syria; for the safety of ath-thughūr[4] (northern fortresses); for the navy[5] and for the administration of justice.[6]

2. Nayib al-qal'a-Dimashq: This officer, who was independent of the nayib as-saltana, was responsible for the upkeep of the citadel and the supervision of ammunition in it.[7] Besides he had important local duties,[8] which will be discussed with the organisation of towns.[9]

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(1) Qalq. (XII, 8-19) gives three marsūms of appointment to the nayib as-saltana in ash-Shām. The first was issued by al-'Ādil Kutbugha to Amīr Sayf ad-Dīn (pp. 8-12); the second is from year A.H.711, addressed to Aqūsh al-Ashrafī (pp. 12-16); and the third is from the year A.H.712, when Tinkiz was appointed to the post (pp. 16-19). For other marsūms see Qalq. ib., 20-24.

(2) Ib., 11-2.

(3) Ib., 19. The units of the army outside Damascus. Units in the capital were under nayib al-qal'a.

(4) Ib., 11, 19.

(5) Ib., 12. In 767/1365 the governor of ash-Shām was ordered to attend to naval bases and ships. I'lām (MS), 50a.

(6) Ib., 16.

(7) Ib., 28-9. Apparently in the case of Damascus Dār ad-darb was under this officer. He is reminded of keeping an eye "on dār ad-darb and its treasures." (Qalq. ib.)

(8) Ib., 29.

(9) See infra. C. IV, S.I.

3. Shādd ad-dawāwīn had to attend to the welfare of the mamlaka, especially in matters relating to the revenues of the state.(1)

4. Shādd al-Muhimmāt saw that the needs of the Sultan were supplied.(2) Such needs were not specified, but it was left for the occasion.

B. Dīwāni officers.

1. Wazīr: He was supposed to help in the civil administration of the mamlaka. His duties were more advisory than executive, and the part he played depended mainly on his personality.(3)

2. Kātib as-sirr ash-sharīf, who was responsible for the chancery saw that documents were well produced and secrets kept. The importance of these two duties becomes clear when we read the advices given in the marsūms of appointment. This, rather than details of duties, were dwelt upon.(4)

3. Nāzir al-juyūsh,(5) saw that the needs of the local army units, attached to nayib al-qal'a, were provided with their regular needs.

4. Nāzir al-Khizāna al-'āliya, whose office was connected with the keeping of the robes of the Sultan.(6)

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(1) Qalq., XII, 35. (2) Ib., 37.

(3) Qalq., XII, 88-9, from a writ appointing a wazīr to Damascus.

(4) Ib., 92-7.

(5) Qalq., IV, 190; Nuwayri, VIII, 201-11, gives a detailed account of the duties of Kātib al-jaysh.

(6) Qalq., IV, 191; XII, 100, 389.

C. Religious officers.

1. Of these the qāḍī al-quḍā was the highest and most important. Generally speaking, since al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir introduced the system of appointing four chief justices, one for each of the four sunni rites, in 660 (in Cairo),[1] the practice was to have four chief justices appointed in the capitals of the two important mamlakas, Dimashq and Ḥalab. The duties of such officers covered not only justice, but the administration of awqāf (donations) and sadaqāt;[2] the supervision of teaching whether in the mosques or in schools;[3] and the provision for aytām[4] (orphans) and safeguarding their interests and properties, if any, as trustees. This explains the stress the sultans made on the character of the qāḍi.[5]

2. Qāḍī al-'askar (two existed in Dimashq)[6] had the jurisdiction over the military personnel;[7] they accompanied the sultan in his travels.[8]

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(1) Tārīkh ad-Dawlat at-Turkiyyah (MS), 7a; Ibn Kathīr XIII, 246.

(2) Qalq., XII, 41, 48.

(3) Ib., 49, 78. The Mamlūks, like the Fatimīds and Ayyubīds, considered schools as organs of propaganda. Thus teaching was entrusted to such a high state-official.

(4) Ib., 47. (5) Ib., 38-41.

(6) Qalq. states that there were two qāḍis of 'askar in Damascus - a Shafi'ī and a Ḥanbalī (IV, 192). But in XII, 59 he says that there were four of them in Damascus.

(7) Qalq., XI, 204-5 quoting al-Ta'rīf gives injunctions to a qāḍī 'askar, where the duties are more fully specified. They include passing judgment on booty, partnership, sales, and deferred debts. He adds that these matters could not be delayed and must be dealt with immediately, lest the soldiers be occupied with them and leave their essential duties.

3. Muftis of dār al-'adl, who were not judges, but jurisconsults whose duty was the clarification of points of the law.(1)

4. Muhtasib, who was the master and supervisor of the markets, is often referred to in the contemporary documents. But we shall leave him and his office for a later discussion.(2)

5. Wakīl bayt al-māl, who kept the records of the Sultan's possessions and attended to sales connected with bayt al-māl.(3)

6. Khatīb al-Jami al-Umawī held a special position. This was due to the reverence with which the people held the mosque. It had become an important centre of teaching and thus worthy of especial attention.(4)

7. Dimashq had schools, and the most important of those madrasas had nāẓirs especially chosen for them. Sometimes the chief justice himself was the nāẓir, as in the case of Ibn Khallikan, who taught at al-'Ādiliya.(5)

No special duties are given to those who held tadāris kibār (high teaching posts), but they were expected to teach the right things and see that students were intellectually looked after.(6)

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(1) Ib., 36; XII, 59.

(2) See infra, C. IV and S. VIII.

(3) Qalq., IV, 31; XII, 66.

(4) Qalq., XII, 72, 77.

(5) For examples of nāẓirs and their relations to the posts of qadis, see ad-Dāris of Hu'aymi, passim.

(6) Ib., 80.

8. One of the most important religio-social offices in Dimashq was the supervision of al-bīmaristān an-Nūrī. Its nāzir had to see that patients were well looked after both in treatment and nourishment.(1)

The officers so far discussed received their appointments from the sultan and had their duties specified for them in each case.(2) They all lived in the capital, whether Dimashq (as most of those referred to above were) or Halab. The other mamlakas had similar groups of officials, but they were considered lower in status. Thus a qadi-quda in Dimashq or Halab was considered higher than his opposite number in Hamah or Safad. This was made clear in the writ of appointment as well as in the social position each would hold.

The nayib as-Saltana was the head of the administration in the mamlaka. All officers, except nayib al-qal'a, were to assist him and receive orders from him, even those whose appointment came direct from the Sultan. This was the theory, and very often it was carried out in practice. But judges always felt they were rather independent of the governor. This is characteristic in Islam, at least when the state was fully conscious of its religious duties. This is why, we believe, we find many dismissals of judges in the period under discussion.

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(1) Ib., 84-5.

(2) See table on p. 33.

A strong qādī, such as Ibn Khallikan, [redacted] or an-Nawawī, could not accept the authority of the governor if it contradicted the law of the Qurān and the personal convictions of the judge.(1) Clashes led not only to dismissals, but sometimes to imprisonment. Yet one notices that such strong judges were often reinstated because the administration could not afford to lose popular support, especially when a danger threatened the mamlaka from outside.

The administration of the mamlaka, like Mamlūk administration in general, was centralized. The Sultan did not trust his nayibs or kāfils, and the nayibs, in turn, had their suspicions about the wālīs and local officers, and supervised them very closely.

The nāyib as-Saltana (the governor-general) conveyed his orders to his nāyibs (commissioners) and those in turn issued instructions to the wālis (officers in charge of 'Amals or districts). Thus the nāyib in Damascus would communicate with the wali of ed-Darum (Deir al-Balah) through the Nāyib of Gaza. But this was not the only procedure. The Nāyib as-Saltana could communicate directly with administrative officers anywhere and issue his instructions direct to them.

The Nāyib as-Saltana appointed most of his nāyibs

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(1) Sulūk, I. 848-9.

and all the wālīs. Besides, most of the diwāni and religious offices, outside the capital, were filled by him. But sometimes he had to obtain the approval of the sultan previous to the making of the appointment.(1)

Some offices, by nature of the town or places carried with them additional duties. Thus nayib al-qibliyah (southern region of the Mamlaka of Dimashq), whose capital was Busra,(2) had included amongst his duties, the protection of Darb al-hajj and the route for traders.(3) Nāyib Hisn al-Akrād had to supervise Christians living in the neighbourhood and observe wine drinking.(4)

(4) The Army

Mamlūk armies in Syria, as in Egypt, were essentially followers attached to kāfils and nāyibs. In Egypt there were three groups of mamlūk soldiers - al-Mamālīk as-Sultaniyyah, aj-nād al-halqa and Mamālīk al-'Umarā. According to Maqrizi there were 24,631 soldiers in Egypt,(5) of whom nearly 12,000 were in groups one and two.

In Syria armies differed in number at various times according to whether an immenent danger threatened the country. Az-Ẓāhirī, writing in the 9th (15th) century gives the following figures.(6)

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(1) See table on p.33 above.
(2) Ta'rīf (Hart.), 26-7.
(3) Ṣalq., XII, 314-5.
(4) Ṣalq., XIII, 32-3.
(5) Khiṭat II, 217-8.
(6) Zub., 104-5.

	Halqa	Mamālīk al-Kāfil wal-Umara.	
Dimashq	12,000	3,000	
Halab	6,000	2,000	
Tripoli	4,000	1,000	
Safad	1,000	1,000	
Gaza	-	1,000	
	23,000	8,000	31,000
From other places		60,000	60,000
Total	23,000	68,000	91,000
Arabs		28,000	
Turkmen		180,000	
Akrād		20,000	228,000
Grand Total			319,000

These figures[1] seem to represent some exaggeration. The case of the Turkmen is a glaring one, we think. Al-Halabī allows the Banu Mirā 4,000 horsemen in the battle of Hims.[2] Al-Malik az-Ẓāhir Baybars, according to Maqrizi,[3] had 12,000 men; one third was stationed in Cairo, one third in Damascus and one third in Halab. When he went out on an expedition he was

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(1) For other figures see G-D., 142, 234, where, citing al Maqsid, he allows the N. of Dimashq about 2805 regulars, while Safad had only 295. See Poliak, Feudalism, 8.

(2) Qalq., IV, 209, where al-Halabī is cited.

(3) Suluk, I, 638.

accompanied by 4,000 men called jaysh az-zahf (the expeditionary force). In case of need he called another 4,000 then the last 4,000. This figure is nearly in agreement with 11,156 given by the same author for mamālīk sultaniyah and ajnād al-halqa.(1) Besides those regulars that accompanied him, aẓ-Ẓāhir could call on the people of Syria to supply auxiliaries. Maqrizi(2) informs us that in 662/1262 the sultan ordered the 'Urbān (Arabs) of ash-Shām not to go to the Desert, and be ready for fighting. Again in 672/1273 aẓ-Ẓāhir ordered every village in ash-Shām to supply him with as many horsemen as they can manage, and to provide them with the necessary supplies.(3) In 791/1389 an-Nāsir prepared for marching from Damascus with his men, amīrs and forces of Akrād, Turkmen and Arabs.(4)

That the Mamlūk armies were composed of all racial elements living in Syria at the time is only natural.(5) The men of the sultan themselves included Turks, Circassians and other varieties. From Syria they recruited Arabs, Turkmen and Akrād.

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(1) Khitat, I, 217-8.

(2) Suluk, I, 511.

(3) Nurat, VII, 3.

(4) Nujum (Pop), V, 408.

(5) Qalq., IV, 182, 216, 233, 237, 240, 241; XII, 218; XIII, 198. See also Abu Shama, Dhayl, 90.

Qalqashandi refers to Russians and Rum[1] by which he means people coming from the Byzantine Empire.[2]

The soldiers, apart from local auxiliaries joining only for a season or an expedition, lived in citadels or fortresses under the supervision of the local nayib or wālī.

Salaries and rewards of soldiers were based on fiefs, which will be discussed later.[3]

(5) The Finances

What were the financial resources and expenditure of Syria? How far is it possible for us to reconstruct this from existing sources and documents?

Information comes rather sporadically about Syria. Most historians of the period wrote at the Egyptian Court, or else were dazzled by it. Thus more regular information on Egyptian matters has reached us. But as the administration was one and the same, we may deduce certain general principles which would apply to Syria as well. But what is very important in the history of this period is not only the regularity of taxes and their collection, but the irregularity which impresses us, when we consider this period. Campaigns were numerous, expeditions

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(1) Qalq., IV, 1b.

(2) Included in the auxiliary troops were local groups of people already settled in the country, usually referred to as 'Ashīr. See Poliak, Feudalism, 11-13 for authorities.

(3) Under Iqtā' in this chapter.

came out often, and many wars were waged. These needed additional sources and new revenues, which were imposed and collected at the spur of the moment. Sometimes the ruler had to pay a ransom to his victorious enemy. This was collected from the people and sometimes harshly. These things imposed by a sultan in hours of despair or need were often repealed by his successor, at least to gain popularity. Such orders of repeal would be inscribed in prominent places, often mosques and khans, where people could see them, and praise the sultan. Such inscriptions provide us with a great deal of inside information about the irregular taxes and dues.

The sources of state income under the Bahrī Mamlūks were varied and numerous. Some were legal, in the sense that Islam had either imposed or legalized them. Zakāh and Kharāj (land-tax) were such revenues. Some had become established through long practice, such as income from fiefs and awqāf (donations). A third group included customs and similar duties. These were reasonable duties in principle, although not always in application. But the irregular duties and dues which were collected, not always for the public weal, at the discretion of the sultan or his officials were certainly uncanonic.

Land-tax or kharāj differed in the Mamlūk Empire as to the nature of the soil, its productivity and exploitation. Qalqashandi deals with the lands of Egypt fully,[1] so does

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(1) Qalq., XIII, 54.

Maqrizi in his Khitat.(1) Nuwayri reminds us that the principle on which land was taxed in Syria was the rainfall.(2) He gives some very useful information as to the grounds on which land-tax was commuted and collected. Muqasamat (division of products) was the most usual way for assessing dues on cereal producing lands.(3) In the case of lands which produced cotton, karrobs and similar produces, a tax in money was levied.(4) Orchards, vineyards and other fruit trees were taxed in kind.(5) Some lands were either given in damān or in fiefs and these were considered as if they were rented, so a man holding either paid the amount agreed on,(6) Other taxes on the land included service and diafāt (presents), such as sheep, chickens, eggs and kishk.(7)

All these taxes were collected annually, and the solar calendar was the basis in order to keep with the agricultural rotation of the country.(8) There were a few other taxes which could be collected either annually or monthly, hilālī, from the fact that here the lunar calendar was used. These included dues on pastures,(9) fisheries, such as Lake of Tiberias

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(1) Khitat, I, 98f; Nuwayri (MS) XXIX, 318 (cited by Hasan, Darasat fī Tārīkh al-Mamālik al-Bahriyya, 322.)

(2) Nuwayri, VIII, 255-6.

(3) Ib., 258-9.

(4) Ib., 260.

(5) Ib., 261.

(6) Ib., 260-1.

وفي بعض الاعمال الشمية انواع مفصولة ومضمنة على ارباب بشيء معلوم . . . وهي نظير المشاهرات بالديار المصرية . ولفظ الفصل باللام كلمة فرنجية واستعمالها في البلاد الحلبية التي انزعجت من ايدي الفرنج جريا على عادتهم .

(7) Ib., 245-6.

(8) Ib., 245f.

(9) Ib., 262.

and Nahr al-'Āṣī,[1] ahkār,[2] and sugar-cane plantations.[3]

Zakāt, (alms) is one of the oldest taxes in Islam. It is a sort of a levy on capital, paid once a year by people owning over a certain amount of capital in movable, or income from immovable, property.[4]

Jawali, or poll-tax, paid by non-Muslim subjects of the Sultan ranged between 10 and 25 dirhems, women, children and aged exempted.[5] Mawārīth ḥashriyya,[6] which amounted to the state becoming the heir to heirless people, was another important source.

Customs duties were of especial value in the Mamlūk period.[7] The amount of trade that was carried through Syria yielded large incomes to the state. Traffic in spices and karem was so important that special officials were appointed to deal with it.[8]

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(1) Ib., 263.

(2) Ahkār (sing. hikr) implied, at least in Egypt, lands (and houses) which were enclosed, so that others were debarred from using it (Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon). Maqrizi (Khitat II, 114) uses hikr mainly for lands. Nuwayrī (VIII, 233) uses "ahkār al-buyūt wal-hawānīt" (.... of houses and shops). In a quotation given by an-Nu'aymī (ad-Dāris, I, 412) for the year A.H.865 the word muhākara is used for rent (in money, not in kind) of houses, shops, lands and orchards. Ibn ash-Shihna (Durr, 147) uses hukura as one of the sources of state-income. It seems that "ahkār" stood for various usages, and was a valuable source of income.

(3) Nuwayrī, VIII, 264, 271, 279-80. (4) Māwardī, Ahkam, 108ff.

(5) Suluk, I, 712, 920; Qalq., III, 458; Nujum, VIII, 234-42. For the earlier (Fatimid) period, see Qawānīn, 318-9.

(6) Qawānīn, 318-9; Qalq., III, 460.

(7) Mamlūks charged, usually, 20% from foreign traders coming to Egypt. But they charged as low as 10% and rarely as much as 35%. See Qalq., III, 463.

(8) Qalq., IV, 32, 187, Sālih, 41; Zub. (R), 109.

The Sultan had his personal income, which was administered by diwan al-khās (privy purse) and several useful sources were earmarked for him.(1) We should like to add here that Baybars concluded treaties with the Latins which gave him regular incomes for the duration of the treaty, as the basis was a partition in the administration and incomes of certain districts.(2) This example was followed later, and we find the details of many such arrangements in treaties concluded in 680/1281(3) and 683/1284.(4) Our sources do not give figures for the revenues so fully discussed by them. The authors were mainly concerned with the legal and administrative aspect of the incomes, so they hardly cared for statistics.

However, we are fortunate to have a reference to the revenues of Halab on two close occasions, both quoted by Ibn ash-Shihna from Ibn Shaddād. He gives the revenues of the town of Halab alone in 609/1212 as 6,984,500 dirhams.(5) Ibn Shaddād then gives a detailed account of the revenues of Halab in the times of al-Malik an-Nasir Yusuf (II) the Ayyūbid.(6)

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(1) Zub. (R) 109.

(2) Ibn Kathir, XIII, 275.

(3) Zubdat al-Fikra (MS) 110a-b.

(4) Furat, VIII, 2.

(5) A'laq, 41a. Durr.

(6) Durr, 147; A'laq, 42b, an-Nasir ruled in Halab from 634/1236 to 648/1250.

Here he enumerates the sources and gives their individual values.(1) This interesting piece of information reveals not only the revenues but the economic activities of Halab shortly before it suffered its heavy blow at the hands of the Mongols. We give the revenues arranged as to the nature of the sources, so that we can more easily consider them.

(A) Revenues based on the land and its direct products:

Kharaj	dirhems	30,000
Hukur (esp. lands) (2)	"	100,000
ar-Ribā',(3)	"	400,000
Vegetables	"	50,000
Basatīn (orchards)	"	50,000
Bilona(4)	"	20,000
Mazābil (dunghills)(5)	"	10,000
Income from fuel (woods and charcoal)		20,000
Grapes	"	80,000
Total	dirhems	760,000

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(1) There are discrepancies between the BM(ms) of al-A'laq and that apparently used by Ibn ash-Shihna, or his editor; but both agree on essential matters. Cf. Durr 147-8, A'laq, 42b, Sauvaget, Perles, 164-6.

(2) Sauvaget, Perles, 165 No.5, Ahkar of Muwayri, VIII, 233, 261. See p ~~220~~, 47, n.2 (above).

(3) Ribā' must have included built up areas. See Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 174, where the word is used in such a sense. Mu'aymī, Daris, I, 447, citing Safadi, speaks of Ibn Karūs as being in charge of ar-riba' as-sultaniyyah, which may mean al-buyūt as-sultāniyyah.

(4) Turabeh halabiyyah.

(5) To be used as fuel in the baths. Sauvaget, Perles, 167, No. 2.

(B) Revenues from Commerce:

Market of cattle, camels, horses	dirhems	380,000
Market of sheep	"	450,000
" " " (for the Turkmen)	"	300,000
Market of flour[1]	"	100,000
Market of Timber	"	50,000
Indigo[2]	"	20,000
Gross merchants[3] (qabbanūn)	"	50,000
Khān as-Sultān[4]	"	350,000
" " "	"	80,000
Salt (imported)[5]	"	350,000
Brokery on vegetables	"	20,000
Market of fruits	"	100,000
al-wakala[6]	"	200,000
Total	dirhems	2,450,000

(1) Daqiq, in preference to raqiq (slavery) accepted by Sarkis (Durr. 147). See Sauvaget, Perles, 164, N.3. Similar taxes on flour were collected at al-Bira. Nujum (pop.) V, 421 and Ibn Furat, IX, 85.

(2) Durr, 148, gives al-baql, but following Sauvaget, Perles, 166, n.8, we accept an-nīl.

(3) Sauvaget, Perles, 167, n.1, 165, n.2.

(4) Two items are given in connection with Khān as-sultān. One - ijtiyaz bi khān (passing through) as in A'laq (MS) 42b (in preference to published Durr. 148 Ikhtiyār). The other, we suggest, was rent (Durr., ib.).

(5) Sauvaget (Perles, 165, n.6) suggests that this amount was the price of salt, not taxes on it. It is likely that salt was a sultan monopoly, and the sultan could cash its price. See Kurd Ali, IV, 78. Monopolies were permissible to the sultan. Qawanīn, 329.

(6) Dealing esp. with traders, Sauvaget, Perles, 164, n.1.

(C) Revenues collected on grounds of trades and industries:

Iron	dirhems	50,000
Hemp	"	50,000
Soap (factories)	"	100,000
Tanneries	"	150,000
al-Kalais[1]	"	20,000
Slaughterhouses	"	100,000
Silk[2]	"	80,000
Lake of Aphamea[3]	"	50,000
Awtar	"	40,000
Damān (masabik)	"	5,000
		645,000

(1) Sauvaget, Perles, 166, n.2, in preference to al-Qasli of published Durr, p.148.

(2) A'laq (MS) 42 gives silk twice; once as sabgh al-Harir (dyeing of silk) and the other as Harir. In each case the corresponding amount is 80,000 dirhems. Durr (148) gives the second only. We have followed ad-Durr.

(3) Lake adh-dhimmah in A'laq (42) and Durr (148) which makes no sense. We follow Sauvaget, Perles, 166, n.7. This revenue would be then for fisheries, for fishing there see Qalq., IV, 84.

(D) Direct taxes:

Zakat	dirhems	1,200,000
'Ushr(1)	"	600,000
Arabs (nomads)(2)	"	100,000
Turkmen (in Halab)(3)	"	100,000
Jawālī	"	100,000
Mawarith Hashriyah	"	300,000
Prisons(4)	"	60,000
Mint	"	100,000
Kura al-Juwaniyah	"	350,000
al-Kharaj wal-Lutf(5)	"	600,000
? ? ? ? (6)	"	100,000
Total	dirhems	3,610,000

(1) 'Ushr was used to mean, in the case of Egyptian ports, customs duty paid by foreign traders (Qalq., III, 463). Cf. Yaqūt, IV, 309.

(2) Arabs paid Zakat on their sheep to be allowed to have them graze within the Mamlaka. See Suluk, II, 481 and Quatremere I, 1, 189 n.69.

(3) Turkmen did the same. Suluk, ib.

(4) Sujun - Durr, 148. In Egypt this amounted to the payment of 6 dirhems per person when sentenced to prison (Suluk, II, 151) - abolished in 714 (ib., 136).

(5) Sauvaget (Perles, 166, n.6) thinks this came from money paid by people granted pardon by the sultan for their misdeeds. See Sulūk, II, 152, where rusūm al-afrāh is mentioned. But maqrizī could not trace its origin.

(6) This is mentioned as as-Siyasa or as-sasa. What does it actually mean? Sauvaget reminds us that Halab had a quarter called as-sasa (Durr, c.22). Could the tax be connected with the Quarter?

The Sultan's revenues from Halab were thus:-

Direct income (A)	760,000
Indirect taxes (B & C)	3,095,000
Direct taxes (D)	3,610,000
	7,465,000

To this must be added that the sultan (the state) owned 30,000[1] sheep, estimated at 600,000 dirhems.[2]

An analysis of the revenues returns shows that taxes (items B and D) amounted to 81.2% of the total sum (B alone 37.9 and D alone 43.3). Trades and industries supplied 8.6% and income from the land was 10.2%.

The importance of Aleppo as a commercial centre during the period, just before the Mongols invasion, is very clear.

'Ushr, [illegible] amounted to 8% of the total revenues (or 19.7% of the total for commerce).

Zakat was, by far, the largest single item, as it provided 16% of the total revenues.

Jawali paid 100,000 dirhems. This may mean that Aleppo had anything between 12,000 and 15,000 non-Muslims living in it.[3]

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(1) A'laq, 42b; Durr, 148.

(2) A'laq, 42b. This figure does not appear in ad-Durr.

(3) At the rate of jizya paid by them. See above this section.

Under the Bahrī Mamlūks we find numerous irregular taxes imposed and collected at the spur of the moment. Usually such taxes were levied to meet a state of danger. But sometimes pretences were given for such collections, and the money went to the personal use of the ruler or governor. It is worth our while to give some examples of irregular taxes, so as to illustrate the extent to which people sometimes suffered.

Qutz, the first Mamlūk Sultan, introduced a few taxes, the purpose of which was to provide for wars against the Mongols. Besides increasing taxes on property he collected a "dinar" from each person and 1/3 of inheritance.(1) These were repealed by Baybars.(2) But Baybars himself collected extra taxes from the people. In 661/1262 he ordered people of the coast to surrender any money they had looted, and pay to him diyāt (blood money) for people killed with no heirs.(3) In 666/1267 he led an expedition to Asia Minor and levied a special tax on the people of Dimashq.(4) The amount requested from them was one million dirhems, 400,000 of which was to be paid there and then, and the rest was to be collected in three annual instalments, 200,000 each year. Dahabi thought this averaged between 13 and 17 dirhems each mada(5) of land, while, he added "many a mada did not give more than 6 dirhems a year".(6)

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(1) Ibn Duqmāq (MS), 99. (2) Ib.

(3) Suluk, I, 488. (4) Ib., 640.

(5) A mada is 40 x 40 thirā' (cubits) of land (Sulūk, I, 907).

(6) Dhahabī, Tarikh al-Islam (MS), XII, 7b.

Another tax which had no standard was al-iqamāt (provisions for the sultan either for war or pilgrimage). Baybars collected what the nayib of Gaza had prepared for him when the Sultan went on pilgrimage in 667/1268.

In 677/1278 the people of Dimashq had to pay the rent of their property for two months to the sultan. It was collected with great severity. The amount was 50,000 dinārs.(1)

Qalāwūn is reported to have cancelled two taxes, in the year 678/1279. They were Zakāt ad-dawlabah(2) and muqarrar an-nasara.(3)

In the year 680/1281, a tax known as al-jihat al-mufrada was farmed in Damascus for 200,000 dirhems, apparently for more than one year.(4)

Qalāwūn, who had repealed some irregular taxes, announced in 688/1289 that he meant to fight the Latins in 'Akkā, and introduced a special levy for the purpose. Acting on his instructions the wazir of Dimashq, Sunqur, imposed on the inhabitants of Ghūṭah and Marj of Damascus between 500 and 2000 dirhems each. He collected from the people of Ba'lback and Biqā' too.(5)

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(1) Ibn Kathir, XIII, 280.

(2) Sulūk, I, 664. Dawlabah may mean a special Zakat or instrument with wheels (dawalib). It is possible to read "ad-Dawlah" In this case it would be similar to Qutz's impositions. See Sulūk I, 664, note 1.

(3) A dinār per Christian, against protection. See Suluk, I, 664, n.2, where al-Mawa'iz is cited. The dinār was in addition to the usual jizya or jaliya.

(4) Sulūk, I, 688. (5) Sulūk, I, 754.

The campaign of Ghazān caused a collection of large amounts of money. People paid the Sultan for their protection. The Sultan failed them and then they paid Ghazān a tribute.

In 699/1299, on the occasion of Ghazān's approach, the wazīr (at Damascus) asked the wālis for money, who borrowed orphans' funds and captives' money for the strengthening of the army.(1) In the following year the people of Damascus were requested to contribute the rents of their property for four months, and one third of the income of their lands, orchards and plantations. Those who could not afford to pay were forced to fell the trees of Ghuta, and sell them to meet their obligations.(2)

Maqrizi reports that Damascus paid Ghazān's envoy, when it fell to the Mongols, about 500,000 dirhams, over 300,000 dinars,(3) and 10,000 horses.(4) Ghazān received 3,600,000.(5)

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(1) Ibn Kathir, XIV, 6, 129.

(2) Mufaddal, III, 537-8; Suluk, I, 907. Both authorities tell us how the money was embezzled. On the contributions made by Egypt on the occasion, see Mufaddal, ibid. In 710 Damascus was requested to supply the need of 1,500 horsemen. This was known as (muqarrar al-khayyāla), Sulūk, II, 104.

(3) Sulūk, I, 893; see also Zett., 71. Maqrizi gives a full list of the payments made by the markets of Dimashq, which is rather interesting:

	dirhams
Sūq al-khawāsīn	130,000
Sūq ar-rammahīn	100,000
Sūq 'alī	100,000
Sūq anynahhasīn	60,000
Qaysariyat ash-shurb	100,000
Sūq adh-dhahabiyyīn (dināRs)	1,500

(4) Ibn Kathir, XIV, 8.

(5) Zettersteen, 77; Sulūk, I, 894.

Apart from these war-measures, the mamlūks sometimes collected taxes which affected essential commodities. Thus in the year 690/1290 al-Ashraf Khalil, repealed a tax which was collected at Bāb al-Jābyah (Damascus) at the rate of five dirhems for each camel-load.(1) A similar tax on sheep was reduced in 764/1362, from 4.5 dirhems to 2 dirhems per head.(2)

Another interesting levy is mentioned for the year 642/1244. The Ruler of Mawsil wrote to Damascus ordering that the rich should pay 10 dirhems each p.a., the middle class 5 dirhems each p.a., and the poor, one dirhem each p.a. This amount was to be sent to the Mongols.(3) Ships that were damaged on the coast would go to the Sultan.(4)

One tax which caused serious objection on moral and religious grounds, was tax on wine, singing girls and prostitutes. It would be useful, we believe, to follow its story during our period.

In 612/1215 it was cancelled by al-'Adil,(5) but it seems to have been allowed to return, as we find al-Jawād cancelling it in 635/1237, when he returned to Damascus.(6) Again in 665/1266 Baybars took strong measures against drinks, opium and prostitutes in Egypt, with strict orders that such measures

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(1) Nujum, VIII, 26.
(2) Ibn Kathir, XIV, 299.
(3) Suluk, I, 315.
(4) Ibn Kathir, XIII, 69.
(5) Abu Shāma, Dhayl, 111.
(6) Suluk, I, 273.

should be extended to Syria.[1] Yet in 680/1281 wines and prostitutes were farmed out in Damascus and a diwān (office) was established for the supervision of the tax.[2] It is to the credit of the learned and the pious of the city that this was cancelled within 20 days on account of their opposition.[3]

We should not wonder to know that Qibjaq, Ghazan's governor at Damascus, revived wine-drinking and prostitution in 699/1299 - 700/1300. For a useful piece of information comes with this account of Ibn Kathir,[4] namely that one of the drinking-houses of Damascus brought in 1,000 dirhams per day. No wonder some unscrupulous governors encouraged this kind of trade. Not only Damascus had such abuses protected by the state officials, but even in Karak and Shawbak similar things existed (in 791).[5]

The wālīs of the mamlūks of Tripoli had to pay a personal tax of 500 dirhams each, when the new nayib came to the mamlaka;[6] a substitute to the money was a mule.[7]

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(1) Ibn Iyas, I, 104-5, citing Ibn Danyāl author of Ṭayf al-Khayāl.

(2) Durrat al-Aslak (MS) 19b; Suluk, I, 688.

(3) Ibn Kathir, XIII, 294.

(4) Kathir, XIV, 10. See Zett. 78, Ibn Taymiyyah brought this to an end after Qibjaq's departure, Kathir, ib., 11.

(5) Nujum, (Pop) V, 421; Ibn Furat, IX, 85. Historians of the period provide fuller information on Egypt.

(6) Nujum (Pop), V, 421.

(7) Ibn Furat, IX, 85.

We shall conclude this section with a table showing some of the taxes repealed. This will help us to know what the people paid at one time or another. The examples come mainly from the 9th (15th) century, but they certainly throw a light on the previous period.

Date of Cancellation	Tax
714/1314	Taxes on prisons (Syria).(1)
746/1345	Death duty of jundis and amīrs.(2)
770/1368	Duties on heads (sheep), crops, auction of hides and monopoly of bread (Sarmin).(3)
791/1388	Salt at 'Ayntab; flour at al-Birah.(4)
802/1399 (or 803/1400)	Duties on washers and carriers of the dead (Damascus).(5)
806/1403	Tax paid by bakers (5 dirhams per a bakery - Beirūt).(6)
811/1408	Tax on eggs (Halab).(7)
815/1412	Taxes on vineyards and arable lands (Gaza)(8)

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(1) Sulūk, II, 136. (2) Ibn al-Wardī, Tatimma, 342.

(3) BEO, IFD, XII (1947-8), 38, citing an inscription from the Great Mosque.

(4) Nujum (Pop)., V, 421; Ibn Furat, IX, 85.

(5) BEO, IFD, XII (1947-8), 5. This duty was paid to the Muhtasib. Inscription from Bāb al-Barīd.

(6) BEO, IFD, XII (1947-8). The inscription is slightly mutilated, so that it could not be decided whether it was 806 or 860.

(7) Inscription from the Great Mosque in Halab, cited by M.K. 'Ali (Khitat), IV, 78.

(8) QDAP, XI (1944), 27.

Date of Cancellation	Tax
824/1421	Special tax on wheat in Syria.(1)
836/1432	Taxes on threshing (corn), oils, rice, soap, orchards, textiles (Hamah).(2)
846/1442	Tax on linen (Sarmin).(3)
854/1450	Tax on linen bleaching (Damascus).(4)
857/1453	Glass manufacture.(5)
857/1453	Tax on olives (Izāz).(3)
864/1459	Tax on dyeing (Qalat Qusair)(3) and tax on armour.
883/1478	Salt imported to Halab.(3)
882/1477	Tax on tanneries (Deir Kush).(3)
893/1487	Tax on henna.(3)
902/1496	Tax on cotton.(3)

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(1) M.K. 'Ali (Khitat), IV, 80. This tax was collected at the rate of 3 dirhams per urdabb and amounted to 1,200,000 dirhams a year.

(2) BEO, IFD, III (1933), 1-2, where an inscription from the Great Mosque of Hama (A.H. 836) is cited.

(3) M.K. 'Ali (Khitat), IV, 78-80, citing inscriptions from the Great Mosque of Halab.

(4) BEO, IFD, II (1932), 31, inscription from Masjid al-Qasab.

(5) Ib., 22. [illegible].

The expenditure of the sultans covered as wide a field as their sources. The army demanded the biggest item, especially in times of danger, when its strength had to be increased in number. Its amīrs received special royal presents and gifts as to ensure their work and loyalty.(1)

The navy, too, demanded great expenses. The state departments (diwans) housed a large number of officials, whose upkeep was a source of concern to the rulers. Beirūt, in the 14th century, had a large number of officials. When they received their salaries, the excess was sent to Damascus.(2)

Next to the war and administrative machines came means of communication and transport. Roads were to be attended to, and the barīd (postal service) was an exacting item on the sultan's resources. One example shows how expensive this wervie was. In 748/1347 the sultan (an-Nāṣir) earmarked one district, whose income was 20,000 dirhems and 3,000 urdubb of corn p.a., for the maintenance of centres of barīd.(3)

Rivers, canals, and bridges(4) needed continuous care and drainage.

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(1) For various examples of such gifts and regular supplies see Qalq., IV, 51, 55; Khiṭaṭ, I, 87; II, 216. Safad cost 80,000 dirhams p.m., Sulūk, I, 547. See also Tawarīkh al-Misr, etc. (MS), 7a.

(2) Salih, 40.

(3) Nujum (Pop), V, 30-1.

(4) Royal bridges (el-jusur as-sulṭāniyyah), Qawānīn, 232; Qalq., III, 448.

But the Mamlūks were not only warring princes. They indulged in the joys and pleasures of life. Maqrizi's accounts of the parties given on public and private occasions are no exaggeration. The Mamlūks do not seem to have left much to be desired.

The Sultans, too, saw that the public remembered them, whether living or dead. The beautiful architectural monuments - mosques, madrasas (schools) and tombs - still standing in Egypt and Syria give us a very good impression of the artistic taste of those who erected them.

It was usual for the Mamlūk sultans to allot certain kinds of income for specific expenditures. The fiefs were mainly for the army. Mosques, bimaristans and schools had special waqfs (donation) for them,(1) and often they were built from the private purse. In 682/1283 it was ordered that the "jawali" revenues from Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bait Jala and Hebron (al-Khalil) should be spent on the building of a pond in the last town.(2)

The nayib at Busra had to provide for the Shāmi (Syrian) procession of pilgrims. The pilgrimage procession, especially when the sultan accompanied it, cost a great deal of money.(3) Other officials had to contribute.

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(1) Hills of Sammuniyyah (near Hārim) were waqf on al Bimaristan al-Arghūnī in Halab (Durr 167), waqf on a mosque in Halab (Durr 232). Maristan built in 755/1356 had the village of Binsh (near Sarmin) as waqf (Durr 235).

(2) Sulūk, I, 712.

(3) Ibn Furāt, IX, 78, 313.

(6) The Barīd

The barīd, postal service, deserves a special treatment in this discussion of the administration, as it was through it, with the pigeon system, that the sultans kept in close touch with their vast empire in Syria.

Its importance could be understood if we remember the space allotted to it by the writers of the period, and if we keep in mind the fact that it was a part of the state department. The sultans took personal interest in it and a courier was to be brought to the sultan immediately.

The Persians, the Romans and early Arabs knew the barīd. The Saljūks kept a sort of postal service but it was not a regular one. The Zankīs added the camels to the beasts of the service.(1) The Ayyūbīds were getting matters more regular during the wars against the Latins, but had not achieved any regularity.

It was Baybars who actually organized the barīd(2) and made it an effective instrument of state service (659/1260). His work, in the opinion of Sauvaget, was a real creation.(3)

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(1) Qalq., XIV, 370 (citing Ta'rīf). The Buids seem to have allowed the barīd to lapse, so that the caliphs knew nothing about their subjects (ib. 369).

(2) Sulūk, I, 446. Baybars rattaba (organized) the barīd on all the routes, so that news from Qal'at al-Jabal (Cairo) to Damascus reached in four days, and vice versa. So he received reports from his possessions twice a week. Al-'Umarī, Ta'rīf, says that Baybars appointed his ('Umari's) uncle as kātib al-insha in Syria, and before leaving he instructed him to keep his well informed about conditions of Mongols and Latins (Qalq., XIV, 370).

(3) Sauvaget, Poste, 12.

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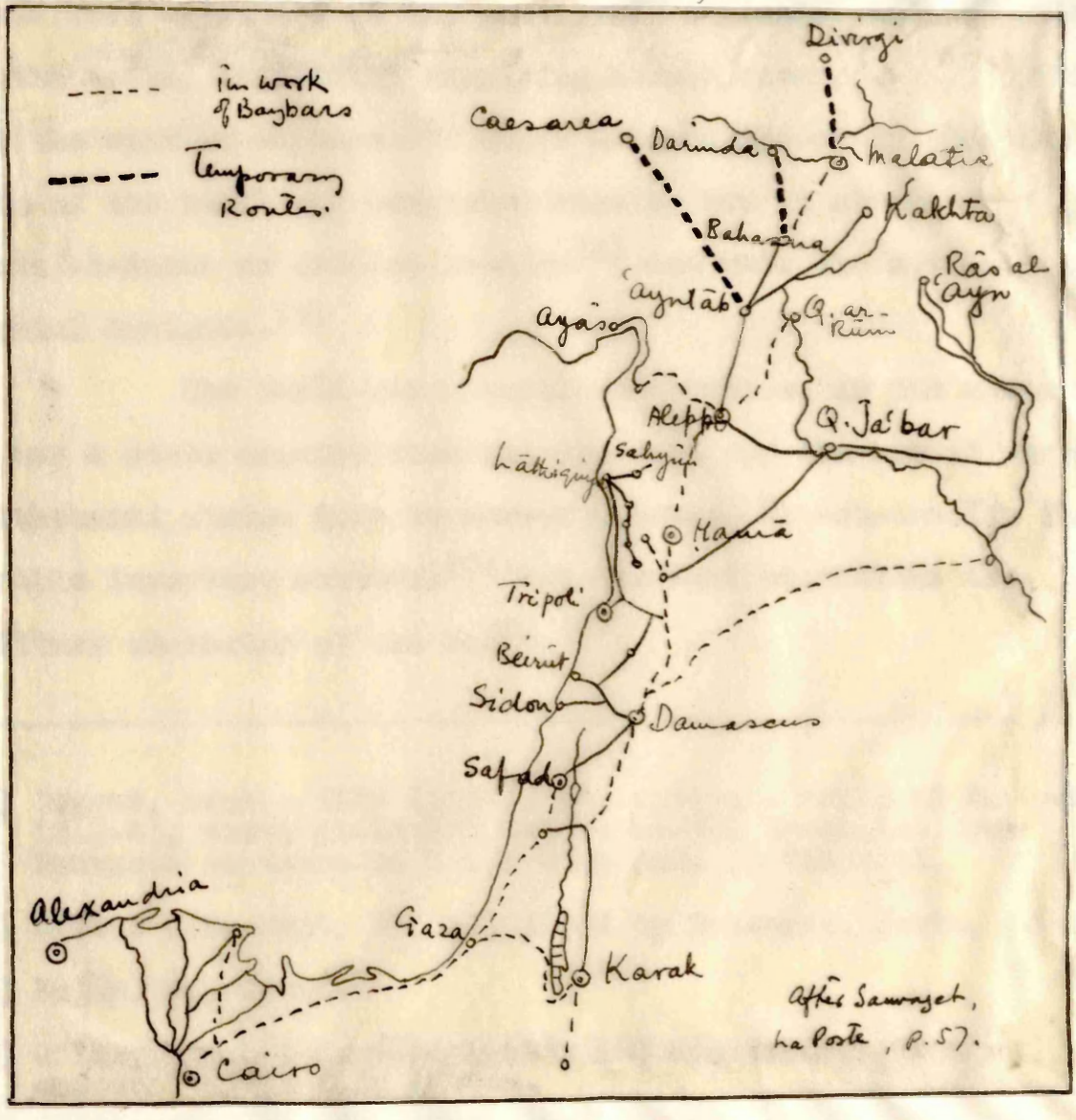
Development of Postal Routes in Syria in the 13th and 14th Century



The organization of the barīd covered every aspect of its work. Thus marāhil (relays) were arranged,(1) choice of reliable couriers was carefully considered,(2) centres for horses were well provided for and protected,(3) wālīs of al-barīd were appointed at the provincial capitals, and the duties of the Arabs, especially supplying horses, were fixed.(4) This was the work of Baybars.(5) Under Qalqwūn the administrative side of the barīd was completed when he had it attached to diwan al-insha or kitābat as-sirr(6) and made the couriers have special insignia.(7)

The barīd was a royal institution, in the sense that it was a state organization and reserved for the use of the state. Qalqashandi states that it served al-muhimmāt ash-Sharīfa (honourable important matters)(8) and Sauvaget emphasizes the military character of the barīd.(9)

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(1) Zayyat, Mash., XXXV (1937), 15, citing a Paris MS No.4440 (f.1-2), where al-Barīdī Shihāb ad-Dīn travelled from Damascus to Cairo in 2-1/2 days only in 711/1311.

(2) Khitat (Ed. Wiet, IV, 87) cited by Sauvaget, Poste, 20 n.90.

(3) Nujūm, VI, 205-6.

(4) Qalq., IV, 211-2. Zāhiri (R), 105 mentions Turkmen as expected to perform duties.

(5) Al-Altāf, 36; Qalq., XIV, 370.

(6) Qalq., V, 114; XIV, 371. On the work of Banū Fadl-illah see Sauvaget, Poste, 54-6, 78-9.

(7) Qalq., ib. See also Sauvaget, Poste, 46-9, where some insignia are reproduced.

(8) Qalq., XIV, 370.

(9) See Qalq., I, 115; VII, 232; Ibn Furāt, IX, 36, on which Sauvaget's argument (Poste, 27) is based.

In reporting the events of the year 748, Ibn Taghri BirdÎ said, "the news came that centres of barīd on the route to Damascus were disorganized."(1) He then added that districts usually assigned to the barīd were granted as fiefs.(2) The two statements were complementary. Lack of strong organization allowed barid sources to go somewhere else. It followed that barid, a costly matter, could not be supported. An attempt was made at a revival(3) but the troubled period did not permit of such a great work to be completed, and the system met its final blow at the invasion of Tamerlane.(4)

Two other institutions were used to speed up communication with the empire: the pigeons and signal (fire) towers. The former was as regular a service as the barīd. The latter was often used. The pigeons were a favourite system with the Zankis(5) and Ayyubids, but it was Baybars again who

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(1) Nujūm (Pop.), V, 30.

(2) Ib.

(3) Ib., 30-1.

(4) Qalq., XIV, 370.

(5) Ta'rīf, quoted by Qalq., XIV, 390.

organized it fully,(1) and it developed later under Qalawūn.(2)

The signal tower (al-manāwir) was used by al-Mu'azzam 'Isā, the Ayyūbid, and he could obtain information about the Latin troops and movements in 'Akkā, while he camped near Nablus.(3)

The Mamlūks were interested in this system. As it is, they were in a state of almost continual wars and anything that might expidite the work was encouraged by their wiser sultans.(4) Salih ibn Yahyā gives us a description of the fire towers between Beirut and Damascus. The signals were given from Ras-Beirūt and then transmitted through Jabal Bawārish, Jabal as-Salihiyya, from which it was taken by guards at Qal'at Dimashq. It took one night for the news thus transmitted to reach Damascus.(5)

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(1) Ibn al-Kutubī, Fawat, I, 90, where some details are given. Qalq., XIV, 390, citing Ta'rīf, says that Ibn 'Abd az-Zāhir wrote a book on pigeons called "Tamā'im al-Hamā'im", presumably because Baybars was interested in the subject.

(2) See on the later development of the pigeon system in Syria, Qalq., XIV, 393-4; Zāhirī (R), 117; Sālih, 40. In 753/1352, when an amir was wanted by the sultan, the news was sent to the Arabs, the governors of Syria and to the muqaddams (chiefs) of the districts by pigeons (Nujūm, Pop., V, 120).

(3) Mir'āt az-Zamān, 426.

(4) Qalqashandī, XIV, 398-400, quoting Ta'rīf, gives a good description, with details, of the method and route of "manāwir" from ar-Tutba to Cairo. News of movements of the enemy were shown by various ways of burning the fire and letting the smoke. Such movements occurring in the morning on the Euphrates were known Cairo by the evening of the same day.

(5) Sālih, 40.

The development of the Barīd routes in Syria[1] in the 13th & 14th centuries

660/1261	Damascus to Halab
661/1262	Extension to al-Bīra
662/1263	Route to al-Karak
663/1264	Route to ar-Ruḥba
665/1266	Route to Ṣafad
667/1268	Halab to Baghrās
669/1270	Hims to Misyāf
670/1271	Hims to Ḥiṣn al-Akrād
691/1291	Routes to Lādhiqiya and to Beirut & Sidon[2]
692/1292	Route to Qal'at ar-Rum (Qal'at al-Muslimin)
694/1294	Route to Tripoli
736/1335	Route to Qalat Jaʿbar and Rās al-ʿAyn
748/1347	Route to Ayās

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(1) See Sauvaget, Poste, 24-6, 56, esp. notes.

(2) Ṣāliḥ, 40.

III. Iqṭā'

(1) Iqṭā in Islam.

Islam recognized iqṭā'. Mawardi, writing in the 5th (11th) century admits of two kinds of iqṭā' - at-tamlīk and al-istighlāl.(1) Both applied to lands or produce thereof. Later, in the 8th (14th) century Ibn Jamā'a, probably codifying an existing usage, added a third kind - iqṭā' al-arfāq. These "arfaq" were not lands, but rather "what existed between built up areas, such as streets, roads, markets and open spaces, provided they never become the property of any person. They may only be used through sitting, or for sales and similar matters. On no account could constructions be made on them."(2)

Mawardī points out that iqṭā' of Kharāj (kind of istighlāl) was especially suitable for members of the army.(3) This seems to be a legal recognition of an existing practice. The Buids gave their soldiers and amirs rents of lands in guarantee of their pay, or part thereof. As rents came in less regularly, the "estates" themselves were given to the army. Niẓām al-Mulk distributed the estates as fiefs to the troops.(4)

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(1) Mawardi, Aḥkām, 181ff.

(2) Ibn Jamā'a, Taḥrīr, in Islamaica, VI, 383.

(3) Mawardī, ib.

(4) EI, art. Iḳṭā'.

This is the "militarization" of iqṭā', where a fief itself is granted to the soldiers. The next step was taken by the Saljūks, who made iqtā' hereditary, or as near to that as possible. Abū Shāma, speaking of Nūr ad-Dīn's good deeds, says, "Amongst the good acts (of Nur ad-Dīn) was that of leaving the iqtā' of his deceased soldier to his son. If the son was old enough he would look after the iqṭā' in person. Otherwise Nur ad-Dīn would appoint a guardian for him".(1) One of Nur ad-Dīn's mercenaries said, "The iqṭā' belongs to us: it is our property, we pass it on to our children from father to son, and in return for it we are willing to run the risk of death."(2) Poliak remarks that by the time of the Saljūks the hereditary principle came to be accepted.(3) This system was known to the Mongols.(4) Becker is of opinion that, in this system of iqṭā', no military duty was attached to the fief.(5)

However, by the time of the Ayyūbīds the "hereditarization" of the fief was completed.(6) Besides service came to be attached to the fief; a fief-holder was supposed to contribute men to the sultan's army, but the number was not fixed.(7)

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(1) Rawdatayn, I, 8.

(2) Sobernheim in EI, art., Iḳṭā', citing Khiṭaṭ.

(3) See JRAS, 1939, 431, n.5, citing Khiṭaṭ, II, 216.

(4) EI, ib. (5) Becker, I, 240.

(6) EI, ib.; Poliak, REI, 1936, 264; JRAS, 1939, 430.

(7) Qalq., XIII, 150, 150.

Islamic history shows that the elements so far borrowed came from the East - fiefs for salaries to the soldiery, and gradual development of the hereditary principle. The fealty to the sovereign had no connection with it, "such fealty being considered as a natural and unconditional duty of every subject."(1)

(2) Mamlūks and Iqtā'

When the Mamlūks became masters of Syria they inherited a variety of feudal practices. Not only Islamic iqtā', but the western (Latin) element feudalism as well were amongst the legacy. How far was the system applied by the Mamlūks influenced by previous experiences?

Under the Mamlūks iqtā' ceased to be hereditary.(2) Fief-holding ended with the termination of the period during which a man could fight. Thus a retired fief-holder may be granted a pension,(3) but he will not leave his fief to his heirs. This was a return to the Islamic idea. Yet apparently a hereditary practice lingered in out-of-the way districts in the Lebanon. In 1375 Ghazal al-Qaysi, muqaddam al-Aqūra, died and his daughter inherited his possessions and iqtā'.(4) Not only was the iqtā' hereditary, but even the woman could inherit. We own that this is an isolated case, but it is worth noting.

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(1) Poliak, JRAS, 1939, 432.

(2) Qalq., IV, 51. Ibn Jama'a argues in favour of the non-hereditary character of iqtā', Islamica, VI, 381. But states that minors should receive their dues. Ibid 387.

(3) Qalq., XIII, 48,51-2. (4) Tārīkh al-Aʿyān, 109.

Mamlūk iqtā' presents us with no vassalage or homage, and has no mediums.(1) The amirs of the province of malik al-Umara were not his vassals, but the sultans'. The sultan, too, was the principal protector of the knights of al-halqa, who previous to 698/1298 were protected by amirs of "100".(2) The absence of homage is in conformity with the principle that the fealty of the subject was a natural matter.(3) This fealty to the sultan he acquired in his capacity as acting on behalf of the caliph.

In contradiction to the Latin feudalism which allowed a fief-holder not only the benefit of his fief, but gave him jurisdiction over its people, the Mamlūk iqtā' could not admit such an adventure. Here again we notice a return, probably unconciously, to the early Islamic practice. The Mamlūks too, could enforce this central jurisdiction at the point of the sword. We believe that the reason for such behaviour is the suspicion the sultan had in his subordinates. The Mamlūks added rawks (cadastral surveys) every now and then in order to readjust the iqtā'at and allow their private purse to fill.

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(1) G-D CXIV; Poliak, feudalism, 26.

(2) Zub.(R), 97, 107, 108, 109, 130; Khitat I, 88, 111; Ibn Iyās, IV, 262.

(3) Poliak, JRAS, 1937, 99, cites a case of homage in Karak, 662/1263 (Suluk I, 492) and supposes that homage was borrowed by the early Mamlūks, but did not become a permanent custom.

The fief-holders were from the mamālik sulṭāniyya (royal mamlūks) or al-ajnad (knights) al-halqa. They were granted the fief in reward for their khidma (service). This grant was for a certain period, namely as long as the service lasted.(1) The fief-holder had to supply a fixed number of knights for his fief.(2) The idea of a fief for a service touches very closely on western feudalism, especially when we remember that the service itself was a military one.

The Mamlūks lords did not always live on the lands whose revenues was theirs.(3) They hardly had any interest in the development of it. Here we find resemblance between the Mamlūks and earlier Islamic practice.

The creation of amirs, i.e., fief-holders, rested with the sultan. But in the case of amirs of Syria, knights of al-halqa, were recommended by their respective nayib-as-saltana (viceroy).(4)

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(1) Traces of the hereditary practice of iqtā', based on western (Latin) local experience, seems to have lingered slightly in some parts of Syria (Poliak, JRAS (1937) p.98, n.6 where Baybar's cases are cited from Sulūk of al-Maqrizī - Quatremere I, i, 233-4, 237; I, ii, 17, 18. But later, after the collapse of the Latin States, all phenomena of western feudalism, including the hereditary principle, vanish. See Poliak, JRAS (1937) 99; JRAS (1939) 431. Poliak reminds us that the case of Jaqmaq, who tried to make fiefs once more hereditary, is only an exception. See Ibn Iyās II, 34; Poliak, JRAS (1937), 99.

(2) See Khitat II, 215ff, where this is dealt with fully.

(3) For examples in Syria see Salih, 93, 102-3 and Ibn Hajar, II, 198, no.1954.

(4) Qalq., IV, 50-51, 184; 217; XII, 21, 218.

Fief-holders, on more than one occasion, shared one fief, thus each having half or less of a town or a large village.(1)

The fief(2) could be an arable land, as in most cases it was, covering lands belonging to 1 to 10 villages,(3) or a part of a village,(4) in which case the holders shared one village. In 662/1263 Tūr-Karm (modern Tūlkarm in central Palestine) was shared by Baysara and Khazindar. Ar-Rukni and Baghdādi each held 1/4 of Zayta, a village not very far from Nablus, while al-Halabī was given half of Qalansawa.(5) The principle adopted was that each soldier should secure revenues compatible with his grade, as the following list shows.(6)

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(1) Muf., 139-45; Qalq., IV, 50-51, 184, 217; XII, 21, 218.

(2) Denoted as iqtā' Qalq. XIII, 104; Khubz Khitat I, 88; or mithal Hujum (Pop.), VII, 853.

(3) In Egypt.

(4) Qalq., III, 457-8.

(5) Muf. 139-45.

(6) Qalq. IV, 50; for a more detailed study see Poliak, JRAS 1937, 99-103.

	Before 1315	In 1315
Amir of 100	80-200,000	85-100,000[1]
" " tabl	23- 30,000	15- 40,000
" " 10	9,000 or less	5- 10,000
" " 5	3,000	-
Royal mamlūk	-	1,000-1,500
Knight of al-halqa	250	300-1,000[2]

A fief in Syria was worth 2/3 of a fief in Egypt.[3] Of the income of the fief, whether in Egypt or in Syria 2/3 were left for providing the knights, while the remaining 1/3 was reserved for the personal expenses of the holder.[4]

Towns were granted as fiefs, but not the great towns. Poliak remarks that most of the towns granted as fiefs were just

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(1) Dinar jayshi.

(2) In addition to which he received other emoluments either in money or in kind, kiswa (dresses), meat, dahāyā (sheep for 'Id al-Adha), kham (for tents), nafaqa (grants in state of war). See Qalq., IV, 51; Ibn Iyas, II, 57; IV, 13-14, 369; Nujum VI(Pop.) 387. Poliak (Feudalism, 4) has equated nafaqāt as-saltana (of Ibn Iyas I, 260) with nafaqāt al-bay'a. This was on the occasion of a new sultan a acceding to authority.

(3) Qalq., IV, 183.

(4) Nuwayri VIII, 207; Qalq., VI, 201; the Ayyubids in their iqta'at gave the amir two separate fiefs - one for his knights, known as "khubz", and the other known as "khassa" for his personal expenses (Poliak, JRAS, 1939, 431, citing Abu Shama, II, 197).

big villages: Nablus,[1] Sarmin,[2] Ma'arrat an-Nu'man[3] and Salamiyah.[4]

The fief of an amīr was usually in the province in which he was stationed. His transfer to another province meant change of his fief.[5] Yet it was not necessary, nor was it desirable, that the fief should be all one unit, or even in adjacent parts.[6] This scattering of fief became almost the general practice in Syria after 1313, i.e., after ar-rawk an-Nasiri.[7] It is likely that the sultan sought purposely to weaken the amīrs.

A fief was given in reward for military service, and the number of knights to be provided was usually fixed. But some fiefs were given against other services than military, such as Turkmen chieftains who when given Kisrawān, they were required to report on the Latins.[8] Again some fiefs were reserved for certain posts. Thus the salt pans of Nahr adl-Dhahab, near Halab, was earmarked for the governor-general of Halab.[9]

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(1) Suluk I, 83, 172-3.

(2) Included in the iqtā' of al-Fadl (Abul-Fida, Tarīkh IV, 73, 120). For other examples see Poliak, Feudalism, 20, citing Abū Shāma, II, 197.

(3) Abul-Fida IV, 83. (4) Qalq. IV, 206.

(5) Nujūm (Pop.) VI, 314 ; Nawādith, 350 cited, Poliak, Feudalism 7

(6) Khitat I, 90. See also Salih 154.

(7) Poliak, Feudalism, 19. This applies especially to Syria.

(8) Salih 55ff; 61-64; 80f.

(9) Ad-Durr, 47. For similar fiefs see Durr 232, 261;on the legal aspect see Ibn Jama'a, Islamica VI, 383.

Harasta near Damascus was reserved for the stores of the citadel in Damascus.(1) Qatya, on the Syro-Egyptian route, was earmarked for the retired aged soldiery. This was done in 715/1315 by an-Nasir.(2)

Some fiefs were originally awqāf, which were broken up and distributed amongst the amīrs in order to increase the Mamlūk soldiery, at times of danger, as it was done in 780/1378, when awqaf were dissolved and given as fiefs.(3)

As for the method of securing the revenues of the fief, the one most in use in Syria seems to have been "muqasama", according to which the holder received a fixed share of the produce,(4) which differed as to the nature of the land, its rainfall, its position in relation to the enemies, and the variety of its products.(5)

What was the lot of the people living on the fiefs?

We have already dealt with their financial obligations, in discussing the financial administration in Syria under the Mamlūks.(6) But we might as well clarify this point, even at the expense of partial repetition.

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(1) Ibn Kathir, XIII, 321. (2) Zettersteen, 132.

(3) Nujūm (Popper) V, 312.

(4) Nuwayri VIII, 58-9; 258-61; Qalq. XIII, 28-30; Zub., 125; Ibn Jamā'a, Islamica, VI, 380.

(5) For the details of the financial implications see supra. c.v., S.6.

(6) See supra ~~c.v.~~, S.II(5).

Muqasama was the basis for the payment of the holders' share in Syria. The share itself depended on the productivity and position of the fief itself. This varied from one-half to one-eight of the produce. Irrigated lands came in the highest category - one-half. Arable lands not exposed to any danger yielded one-third or one-quarter. One-fifth or one-sixth was the share, in cases of revived lands, on newly colonised areas. But in parts of the country exposed to enemy assaults, such as the coastal lands, tenants paid only one-seventh or one-eight.(1)

Not always was the share paid out in kind. Grain was the usual payment for arable land, but fruit-trees and vegetables were paid for in money. In some cases a by product was the means of settlement of the share: olive oil for olive groves, silk for mulberry trees.(2) This system was a result of gradual development.(3)

When, however, the tenants had had their share, they had to meet other exactions. These included 'ushr (tithe) of the crops remaining to the peasants,(4) gifts;(5) tax on water-mills;(6) and a variety of local taxes.(7)

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(1) Nuwayri, VIII, 258-9.

(2) See supra, [illegible], S.II(5).

(3) Qalq, XIV, 44, 45, 46, 50: IV, 216, 233.

(4) Nuwayri, VIII, 259.

(5) Supra [illegible]., S.II(5).

(6) Nuwayri, VIII, 245.

(7) See supra [illegible].S.II(5); Qalq, XIII, 34; Nuwayri, VIII, 261ff.

It is no wonder that the peasants were poor, and that they received annual loans of grain from their lords, and thus were always at their mercy.(1)

Poliak's suggestion that in Syria the peasants held the arable land in common, and thus the village was a community,(2) may not be far from the actual conditions. The agricultural work of the peasants on the land was supervised by the lord(3) throughout its stages.

The social status of the tenants is not easy to define. A fallāh living on a qaṭī'a, was supposed to remain on the land. He could not leave except with the permission of his lord. If he leaves without such a permit he would be brought back.(4) Ibn Iyas gives a case where the fallaḥīn were brought back in 912/1506.(5) The lord could according to later authorities, punish his fallahin by flogging, jail(6) and even by death.(7) But we must keep in mind two things in this connection.

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(1) Nuwayrī, VIII, 250, 252, 260, 278; Khitat I, 91; Sulūk (Quat.) I, i, 141 n.14. Poliak (Feudalism, 68-9) estimates the interest on loans at 10-11 per cent.

(2) Feudalism, 69.

(3) Or his representative. See Nuwayrī VIII, 257, 258.

(4) Nuwayrī, VII, 298.

(5) Ibn Iyas, IV, 104.

(6) Ibn Iyas, IV, 372-3.

(7) Ib., 125. See Poliak, Feudalism, 64 note 4. He thinks that the death penalty was a legal punishment in the 10th (16th) century.

Firstly that the instances quoted come from a later period and secondly that they occurred in Egypt. Whether we could apply them to Syria and under the Bahrī Mamlūks is not quite clear to us. For as against this picture we have another where, at least in the Lebanon, peasants were free to choose the places where they would live, and to select the masters whom they would serve.(1) Taking this to be the case in the 14th century we feel we must account for its origin. It could not have been left by Latin feudalism, because this system admitted serfdom fully, and left men no liberty of movement. There is a striking resemblance between this practice and the Islamic conception, at least of early Islam. And if we have to assign an origin to it, we may suggest that it came from that source.

Later in the history of Egypt and Syria we find that a master of a qaṭī'a had to administer justice to his fallaḥīn, in civil cases, if they preferred him to the qadi.(2) How far back this usage goes cannot be determined. But we may assume that it must have existed as a result of the weakness of the central administration.

From this short discussion we can see that the position of the fallaḥīn was not, generally speaking, a happy one.

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(1) 'Awwād, Mashriq., XL (1942-3), 27.

(2) Jabarti IV, 207-8; Rustum (Materials for a corpus of Arabic Documents of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha, Beirut, 1930-4), I, 76.

If we add to this the payment which they had to make, and the forced labour to which some were subjected in the case of sugar-farms,[1] we feel that they did not differ very much from the serfs of European feudalism. After all Poliak may be justified in applying the term "serfs" for them, and lords for their ustaths.

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(1) Qalq, IV, 50; Daw I, 258; Khitat, 11, 217.

(2) Poliak, Feudalism, 64ff.

IV. THE PEOPLE OF SYRIA

The large bulk of the people of Syria was constituted of Arabs and Arabicized elements. These included the Christian inhabitants belonging to the Greek, Nestorian and Jacobite Churches, and probably the Maronites. The Eastern fringes of Syria and Southern Palestine harboured tribes, the best known of them are: Banū Kilāb and Āl Bashshār who were not far from Aleppo;(1) Banū Khālid of Ḥimṣ;(2) Baṭn Zubayd who moved in a wide area and lived in Ṣarkhad, Ḥawrān and Rahb;(3) Baṭn Rabī'a;(4) Baṭn Jarm, with their tents pitched about Darūm (Dayr al-Balah) and Gaza;(5) Baṭn Mahdī, the masters of al-Balqā;(6) Banū 'Uqba; Banū Zuhayr; Āl Ajbūra; 'Attaqiyyūn and Ṣūniyyūn.(7)

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(1) Qalq., IV, 215; G-D., 219-20.

(2) Qalq., ib. Called musta'riba.

(3) Ib., 214; G-D., 199f. al-mashāriqa, in general terms, included this baṭn (Qalq. ib.).

(4) Rabī'a had three fakhdhs: Āl Fadl, whose abode lay between Rahba and Ja'bar (Qalq., IV, 205); Āl Mirā, who inhabited the Ḥawrān (ib. 208; G-D., 191); and Āl 'Alī, who occupied the Marj and Ghūṭa of Damascus (Qalq., IV, 210).

(5) Qalq., IV, 211-2; G-D., 197. Sometimes they expanded towards al-Khalīl (Qalq., ib., 211). This neighbourhood was probably their summer resort.

(6) Qalq., ib., 213; G-D., 197f.

(7) The last five mentioned tribes were in the southern parts of Transjordan (Qalq., ib., 242; G-D., 237-8).

Between Misr and Kharrūba roamed Batn Tha'laba.(1)

The settled communities occupied the towns and the countryside.

But Syria knew a few racial groups who lived in the land. These included Kurds, Turkmen and Armenians.

The Kurds found their way into Syria as early as the beginning of the 5th (11th) century, when Shibl ad-Dawla Nasr gave them Hisn al-Akrād, provided they defended Tripoli and the route connecting it with Hims and Hamāh.(2) With the coming of the Ayyūbīds the number of Kurds must have increased in Syria. Ibn Shaddād refers to the Kurds as occupying al-Hadath.(3) Besides some Kurdish tribes migrated into Syria under the Mamlūks.(4) Among some Mamlūk armies Kurdish troops were

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(1) Qalq., IV, 212; G-D., 197. Kharrūba is a fortress near 'Akka (G-D., 197 n.1, where Yāqūt and Le Strange are cited). But does not seem to fit with the statement of Qalqashandī. We suggest that the Kharrūba referred to here must be the one visited by Ibn Batūta, between Egypt and Palestine, (Batūta, I, 111). An interesting study of Arab Tribes in Syria in the 14th and 15th centuries by A.S.Tritton in BSOAS, XII (1948), 567-73.

(2) EI, art Hisn al-Akrād.

(3) In Durr, 193. 5,000 houses of Kurds were destroyed in one campaign in the 13th century in North Syria (EI, art Kurds, citing Recu. Doc Arm., ii, 179).

(4) 'Umarī, in Masālik al-Absār, gives a full account of the Kurdish tribes (20 in number), of which groups belonging to Gilāli, and Kūsa and Mabir migrated into Syria (cited EI, art Kurds).

recruited in Syria.(1) When an-Nāsiri, Nāyib Halab, prepared his army in 791/1389, it included Kurds.(2)

The Turkmen made their first appearance in Syria late in the 5th (11th) century.(3) In the 6th (12th) century they were a power. 'Imād ad-Dīn Zangī settled a group of Turkmen in the wilaya of Aleppo and ordered them to fight the Latins, provided they would possess all the lands they conquered.(4) In 541/1146 they disturbed the peace in northern Syria.(5) Two years later, when the Crusaders were besieging Damascus, the Turkmen came to help the city.(6) In 574/1178 the Crusaders of Tripoli attacked the Turkmen of the coast,(7) who must have been settled there.

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(1) In his letter to Khan Berkai Baybars boasts of the number of his troops, who were Turks, Kurds and Arabs. EI, art. Kurds, citing d'Ohsson, iii, 385. See also Sulūk I,907,947.

(2)Nujūm (Pop.), V, 408.

(3) Qalānisī, 98 refers to Atsiz as assembling his army (463/1070), conquering Jerusalem and Ramla and laying seige to Damascus.

(4) Abū Shāma, ar-Rawdatayn, I, 43-4.

(5) Qalānisī, 286. For earlier use of the Turkmen in Syrian armies see ib., 213, 225. In this last case the Turkmen are referred to as coming from their dwellings around Damascus to help the soldiers of the city defending it against the invading Franks in 523/1128.

(6) Ib., 299.

(7) I. Athīr, XI, 300.

In the 7th (13th) century we find Turkmen in the armies of ash-Shām[1] and Aleppo.[2] Turkmen lived in the provinces of Aleppo[3] and they even settled in al-Ḥāḍir as-Sulaymānī, a suburb of the city.[4] Al-'Aynī tells us that the Turkmen were in the coast and in the Jawlān.[5] Baybars settled Turkmen in Qarā, after destroying its population, in 664/1265,[6] and in the coast, for its protection, in 666/1267.[7] In

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(1) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 90 mentions Turkmen troops among the soldiers that went with Amīr Sālim, on the pilgrimage in 612/

(2) In 635/1237 (Sulūk, I, 269) and in 644/1246 (ib., 324).

(3) In 624/1227 I. Athīr, XII, 309.

(4) Yaqūt, II, 185. He says, ".... now occupied by Arabicized (musta'riba) Turkmen, the sons of the soldiers (alajnād). In the budget of Aleppo from the time of an-Nāsir Yusuf, early 7th (13th) century, 'idād at-Turkmān and sūq al-ghanam lit-Turkmān, gave 420,000 (or 450,000 dirham (Durr 147, 148, n.3). This shows how numerous they were then.

(5) In 659/1260 ('Iqd al-Jumān in Rec. Hist. Orien. II, 217). They were between Tadmur and al-Qaryatayn (Mufaddal, - Blochet - III, 760-1).

(6) Mufaddal II, 497 (155); Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, IV, 4.

(7) Sulūk, I, 568. He settled some Turkmen in Ru'bān, near Hadath (Durr, 233). About a hundred Turkmen lived in Manbij in the 7th (13th) Century (ib., 228).

675/1276, as many as 20,000 soldiers and 30,000 horsemen including many Turkmen, were ready to join Baybars.(1) Again in 679/1280 when Marqab was to be attacked the nāyib of Hisn al-Akrād called upon the Turkmen to join him.(2)

When an-Nāṣir conquered Kisrawān (in the Lebanon) in 705/1305 he gave the strip of the coast from north of Beirūt to the south of Tripoli to 300 Turkmen as fiefs so that they may safeguard the place against possible espionage from Europeans.(3) Qarasunqur in 711/1311 secured the help of Turkmen soldiers in his rebellion.(4) In the civil wars of 791-2/1389 the Turkmen played an important role in their support of the rebels and the sultan.(5)

Qalqashandī refers to Turkmen as forming regular contingents in the armies of Syria.(6)

It is difficult to estimate the number of Turkmen and Kurds in Syria. Az-Ẓāhirī gives the number of Turkmen troops as 180,000, and that of Kurds as 20,000.(7)

The third racial group was the Armenians, who were transferred to the country by the Byzantines or else migrated and settled in Northern Syrian towns.(8) Antioch and Lāthiqiyya,

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(1) Sulūk, I, 633.
(2) Ib., 684. Burchard, writing late in the 13th century, says that in the coastal plain of Tripoli as far as 'Arqa and Hisn al-Akrād, many Turcomans live in tents (Burc., 18).
(3) Durrat al-Aslāk (Marsh, 386), year 705; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥya, 33, 42.
(4) Sulūk, II, 110.
(5) Nujūm (Pop.), V, 493, 495, 497, 500.
(6) Qalq., IV, 182, 216, 233, 237, 240, 241.
(7) Zub. (R.), 105. But these figures may be an exaggeration, unless we take them as an estimate of the total population in each case!
(8) Cahen, 185, citing Cart., I, 436.

Dirkush,[1] Bahasnā,[2] Samosata,[3] and Kafardubbīn.[4]

Besides there was a small Jewish minority which lived in the towns.[5]

Looking at the people of Syria from a religious point of view we find that they included Sunni Muslims, who were in the majority, Shī'īs, and Christians. The largest Christian minority were the Maronites, who lived in the Lebanon. To the north were the Nusayrīs, occupying Jabal Summāq, and to the south were the Drūz,[6] who had settled in Wādī at-Taym and the slopes of Mt. Hermon. In addition the Imā'īlīs, known popularly as the Assassins, lived in Qilā' ad-Da'wa,[7] the mountainous stretch of land between Lādhiqiyya and Hamā. It was Baybars who eventually destroyed their fortresses in 668 and 669.[8]

What was the attitude of these various groups towards the Mamlūks? The Druz, judging from the pages of Sālih ibn Yahyā, seem to have been on good terms with the rulers of the country.

The Maronites were quiet for some time after the

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(1) Durr, 167.
(2) Ib., 171.
(3) Ib., 198.
(4) Cahen, 185, citing Ibn Shaddād.
(5) Jewish travellers who visited Syria in the middle ages have left abundant material on the Jewish communities in the country, especially Benjamin of Tudela and Petachia of Ratizbon. See Adler, Jewish Travellers, 38-91. The number of Jews in Syria, as far as Benjamin's information is concerned, seems to be about 10,000. Benjamin refers to some Samaritans in Nablus, Caesarea (p. 81) and Gaza (p. 88). Idrīsī (J.), I, 339 refers to the presence of Samaritans at Gaza. See also Zayat, Mash. XXXVI (1938), 170-1.
(6) In Benjamin's account we have one of the earliest references to the Druz (p. 79-80). He says that they lived on the summits of the mountains, presumably in southern Lebanon, and Mt. Hermon constitutes the boundary of their territory.
(7) Ta'rīf (Hart.), 35-6; Qalq., IV, 146.
(8) Abul Fidā, Tarīkh, IV, 5, 6-7; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 264.

expedition of 705/1305. But during the fourteenth century they were active against the Mamlūk.[1]

The Nusayrīs did not figure very much in the history of the period, but as Shī'a they were subjected to suspicion. The policy of the Mamlūks towards them was one of bringing back to Sunna. In 717/1317 it was ordered that each village in their country should have a mosque.[2]

Our authorities are silent on the other Shī'ī group of the Lebanon, namely the Matāwila of Jabal 'Āmil. We think that they accepted a defeated attitude.

The Turkmen were, apparently, a turbulent element in Syria during the period. Judging from the details of the cases cited above, they seem to have expected immediate rewards for their services, and the sultans, or rebellious amīrs, realized that, and acted accordingly.

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(1) See Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Hurūb al-Muqaddamīn, esp. pp. 24ff. This interesting "zajalīyya" (popular Lebanese poem), describes the fighting of the muqaddams (chiefs) of the Maronites amongst themselves and against the Ayyūbīds and the Mamlūks.

(2) Ibn al-Wardī, II, 266.

C H A P T E R T W O

C E N T R E S O F U R B A N L I F E

I. STATISTICS AND SURVEY

II. NOTES ON LISTS I-IV

III. NOTES ON LIST V

IV. THE COUNTRYSIDE

I. STATISTICS AND SURVEY

This general survey of the centers of urban life is based on geographers and travellers who wrote between the 4th (10th) and 9th (15th) centuries; the two groups include Arab as well as European authorities.[1]

We have taken al-Muqaddasi for a beginning. He was chosen because he was the most systematic writer of the late 4th (10th) century, and, as a Syrian, he knew his country well enough to be reliable.

Al-Muqaddasi gives a list of 58 towns (mudun).[2] His qualification for a town was that it should have a minbar.[3]

This figure (58) includes six qasabat (capitals of districts). Before proceeding to discuss the fate of these towns, or adding to them, we had better put before the reader a numerical list of towns furnished by other geographers.

Author	No. of towns	Remarks
Muqaddasī	58	
Idrīsī	43	
Vitry	30	more concerned with the coast
Yaqūt	54	
Ibn Shaddād (the geographer)	11	Northern Syria only.
Burchard	28	mostly on the coast
Dimashqī	39	
Marāṣid	48	mostly copied from Yaqut

(1) For a discussion of the sources see supra, Introduction, pp. xvff.
(2) Muq., 154-55, 178.
(3) Muq., 35, 47.

Author	No. of towns	Remarks
Abul-Fidā	39	
Al'Umarī (Ta'rīf)	40	
Qalqashandī	48	
Az-Zāhirī	32	

Besides those given by al-Muqaddasī there are 18 towns given by later writers, and mentioned by them as towns. These occur for the first time in Idrisī (3), Vitry (3), Yaqūt (7), Burchard (1), Dimashqī (1), Abul-Fidā (2), and 'Umarī (Ta'rif) (1).

Thus altogether 76 centres will be surveyed in this chapter, and they can be treated only in general terms. The towns will be grouped geographically as far as it is possible. For this purpose we shall consider the towns as coastal, including the immediate slopes; as north central; as south central; as Jordan Valley towns; and as Eastern Plateau group.

(I) Towns mentioned for the first time by al-Muqaddasī or later authorities, but destroyed by the 9th (15th) century

	Earliest ref.	Earliest ref. to a "state of ruins"
Coast-al	(Tyre (M. 163) (1)	Abul-Fidā (242)
	('Akkā (M. 162) (2)	Marāṣid (II, 271)
	(Caesarea (M.174) (3)	Burchard (94)

(1) Khusrau, 11-12, where he describes it as having very clean bazaars, and great quantity of wealth; the population, for the most part are Shī'ah - Idrīsī. (J.), I, 353-4 - a good town, Benjamin (Ed. Wright), 80 says that it is very commercial, and people resort to it from many land.- Theoderich, 73" which stands by the seashore and surpasses all the other cities in the strength of its walls... It has a double harbour." - Ibn Jubair (304) was impressed by its harbour, its wealth, and =

= the variety of people that came to it and the merchandise brought there. - Phocas, 10, speaks of Tyre as surpassing in beauty almost all cities of Phoenicia. - Yāqūt, III, 433, was interested in Islamic Tyre. All he says otherwise is that it was, in his time, in the hands of the Christians. - Dimashqi, 290-1, gives a short history of Tyre, and leaves us with the impression that it was not much of a place. - Apparently referring to its earlier history, the author of Marāsid, II, 171, speaks of it as an impregnable fortress. - Abul Fidā, 242, in ruins down to the present day. - Maundeville, 141, says, "... but the Saracens have destroyed it in great part; and they guard that haven carefully for fear of the Christians." - Suchem, 50, but now it is almost deserted. - Ibn Batutah, I, 130, found Tyre in ruins. - Zub.(R.), 44, Tyre was in ruins.

(2) Khusrau, 12, the harbour seems to have struck him, as well as the mosque. Its walls were strong. - Daniel, 55, it is a large town, solidly built, and possessing a good port. - Idrīsī, (J.), I, 353, 'Akkā is a large town, with many villages; it has a very good port. Its people are mixed. - Benjamin, 80-1, mentions its great port. - Theoderich, 59-60, speaks of 'Akkā (PFO Lemais) as a great, rich and populous city, as having a harbour which is dangerous of access, by reason of its being exposed to the winds. Yet wherever the ships of pilgrims may have landed them, they are all obliged to repair to this city to take them home again on their return from Jerusalem. - Vitry, 16, thought that enough had been said of 'Akkā so he added no information. But later (99, 107-113), he speaks of Saladin's siege of the city. - Ibn Jubair, 302, spares no words in praising the size, activity, commerce, and khan of 'Akkā. He seems to corraborate the evidence of Theoderich (60). - Phocas, II, a large city and so populous as to surpass all the rest. It receives all the merchant ships. Deaths occur frequently as a result of diseases arising from numerous peoples. - Yāqūt, III, 707, one of the best towns on the coast in our times. - Burchard, 9, the city is fortified with walls, outworks, towers, ditches and barbicans of very great strength... The plain is very fertile ... the city has a good and roomy harbour. - Dimashqi, 290, gives no additional information to Yaqūt's in his cursory remarks. Marāsid, II, 273, when al-Ashraf conquered it in 690 he destroyed its houses and forts. Abul Fidā, 243, "At the present day, 'Akkā is in ruins, having been brought back into the hands of the Muslims in 690. - Maundeville, 142... "But it is now destroyed." - Suchem, 60-1, "At this day about 60 Saracen mercenaries dwell in Acre as a garrison for the city and port, and make a living out of silk and birds, for there are so many partridges and pigeons to be found in Acre." - Poggibonsi, 69, writes its harbour was blocked, probably out of fear from a new Crusade. cf. on similar action Suchem, 49, when Jaffa port was blocked. On the rumour of a Crusade see, Rv. Or. Lat., 1895,

	Earliest ref.	Earliest ref. to a "state of ruins"
Coast-al	Arsūf (M.174) (1)	Abul-Fidā (238)
	Jaffa (M.174) (2)	Yāqūt, (IV, 1003)
	'Asqalān (M.174) (3)	Yaqūt (III, 667)
	Suwaydiya (M.155)	after c. 700/1300 of no importance. (4)
North	Bālis (M. 155) (5)	A'lāq (MS), I, 48a.
Cen-tral	Manbiji (M.155) (6)	A'lāq (MS), I, 99.
	Qinnasrīn (M.155) (7)	Yāqūt (IV, 184-7)

= 158. - Ibn Batutah, I, 129, said 'Akkā was in ruins. - Brocquiere, 292, says of 'Akkā, "This is (the port of Acre) a handsome port, deep and well inclosed. The town itself appears to have large and strong; but at present there do not exist more than three hundred houses, situated at one of its extremities, and at some distance from the sea." - Zub. (M.), 44, refers to the port of 'Akkā.

(3) Khusrau, 20, a fine city, with running waters and palm gardens, and orange and citron trees. - Idrīsī (J.) I, 352, a large town with prosperous suburbs and strong port. - Benjamin, 81, says "This city is very elegant and beautiful". It had, in his time, about 100 Samaritans. - Yāqūt, IV, 214, "It is nearer to a village now." - Burchard, 94, the city at this time is altogether ruined (as a result of Baybar's campaign in 1268.) Abul-Fidā, 239, in ruins.

(1) Abul-Fidā, 238, in ruins, with nobody living there.

(2) Daniel, 54, says "the town of Jaffa is situated on the seashore." Apparently he was not impressed by it. - Idrīsī (J.), I, 350, mentions only that it was the port for Jerusalem. - Benjamin was not especially interested in Jaffa. As it contained one jew only, Benjamin could not have spent much time there (Benjamin, 87) - Yāqūt, IV, 1003, says that it was destroyed by al-'Ādil in 593.- Jaffa was destroyed by Barbars, when he occupied it in 666. (See Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 251) - If we accept Abul-Fidā's statement Jaffa seems to have regained a little since Yaqūt wrote. Abul-Fidā, 238, writes "The town of Yāfā is well fortified. Its markets are much frequented and many merchants ply their trades here. There is a large harbour frequented by all ships coming to Filastīn, and from it they sail to all lands." - Suchem, 49, Jaffa "is still fairly well peopled. Once the common pilgrim - way passed through this city, but shortly before my time the soldan laid waste the port out of fear of the King of France." - Poggibousi, 6, "The city of Jaffa is entirely in ruins, having only two caves, above which are two towers, wherein is one poor admiral with some Saracens to guard the port; but the port is wrecked and =

	Earliest ref.	Earliest ref. to a "state of ruins"
J.V.	(Tiberias (M. 161) (1)*	Abul Fidā (242)
	(Qadas (in Galilee), (M.161)	
E.P.	(Jarash (Bur. 34) (2)*	Yāqūt (II, 61).

= blocked." - Brocquiere, 286, says of Jaffa, "... at present it is entirely destroyed, having only a few tents covered with reeds, whither pilgrims retire to shelter themselves from the heat of the sun"..."The sea enters the town and forms a bad and shallow harbour". -

(3) Khusrau, 61, "The bazaar and mosque are both fine". - Benjamin, 88, "This city is very large and handsome; and merchants from all parts resort to it, on account of its convenient situation on the confines of Egypt". - 'Asqalān, according to Theoderich, 55, was a "very strongly fortified city". - Vitri, 15, means to show how difficult it was for the Crusaders to capture 'Asqalān, so he tells us of its fortifications and stones. - Abul Fidā, 238, now in ruins with no inhabitants at all. - Ibn Batutah, I, 126, in ruins.

(4) G-D., 94, n. 1.

(5) Yāqūt, I, 477, Bālis is only a town (baldah). A'lāq (MS), I, 48a, now in ruins. It was ruined by the Tatars invasion (49a) Abul Fidā, 269, "was once well inhabited".

(6) Khusrau, 1, no building outside the walls. - Ibn Jubair, 248, was impressed by its weather, old walls, groves, water, fertility of its soil, markets, khāns, stone-houses, and its sunni population. - Yāqūt, IV, 654-5, a large town, owning large fertile streches of land. - After giving a full description of its history, Ibn Shaddād says that it was destroyed by the Mongols, and that now (in his time) it had no more than 100 people living there, 'Alāq (MS), I, 99, Abul Fidā, 270, now in ruins. - cf. Qalq., IV, 127, where earlier authorities are quoted to show how rich it was before the Mongols' invasion. Qalq, IV, 127, says that it was in ruins.

(7) That Qinnasrīn was in a state of ruins in the 13th and 14th centuries is confirmed by Yāqūt, IV, 186 (who says, however, that there was a khān in it which was used by caravans and the sultan's customs officers; A'lāq (MS), I, 51a (now in ruins); Abul Fidā, 266 (in ruins.).

(1)*Khusrau, 16-18, gives the town the credit of making excellent prayer mats. It certainly enjoyed its hot baths and large supply of fish from the lake. - Idrīsī (J.) I, 349, the great town of the Jordani, makes beautiful mats. - Benjamin, 88, refers to 50 Jews living there and to the hot springs. - The Christians established in Tiberias, a garrison of their own, (Theoderich, 65.) - Vitry, 34, it abounds with corn, fish and wine. - Dimashqi (cited Le Strange, 340-1), gives a short account of the hot baths. - Abul Fidā, 242, in ruins. Suchem, 127, a poor place. - Ibn Batutah, I, 152, in ruins. -

(2)*Yāqūt, II, 61.

II. Towns mentioned originally by al-Muqaddasi or later authors, but gradually became villages.

		Earliest ref. as "village".
Coast-al	Kābūl (M.162) (1)	Marāṣid (II, 469)
	Baṭrūn (Id., I,356) (2)	Marāṣid (I, 126)
	Maraclea (Vit., 9)	Dimashqī (283)
	Yabna (Vit.,15) (3)	Yāqūt (IV, 1007)
	Jūnya (Id., I,356) (4)	After Marāṣid (I, 274)
North Cent-ral	Khunāṣira (M.156) (5)	Yāqūt (II, 473)
	Jusiah (M.155) (6)	Marāṣid (I, 272)
	'Arjamūsh (M.160)	Marāṣid (II, 246)
	Kāmid (M.160)	Dimashqī (268)
	Raqqa (Id.,II,136) (7)	Marāṣid (I, 478)

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(1) Marāṣid, II, 469, states that it was a village between 'Akkā and Tabariyyah. - Ẓāhirī (R.), 44, refers to Kābūl as with a castle. Earlier references do not seem to justify anything on a large scale.

(2) Burchard, 15, refers to Baṭrūn as utterly destroyed.

(3) Muqaddasī, 176, "large village". - Yaqūt, IV, 1007, a small town (bulaydah).

(4) Yāqūt, II, 160, a town in the dependencies of Tripoli. - Marāṣid, I, 274, apparently quotes Yāqūt. But we have to keep in mind the campaign of the Mamluks on Kisrawān in 705/1305 which led to the destruction of many places in the neighbourhood! Ghazīr, built by the Turkman amīr who was granted an iqṭā' there, surely took the place of Junia as a center, (See supra, C.I.S.L.)

(5) Yāqūt, II, 473, nearer to a village. - A'lāq (MS), I, 50a, now a village.

(6) Ta'rīf (Hart.), 28.

(7) Idrīsī (J.), II, 136, speaks highly of Raqqa. It was a center of various routes and it had many markets, merchants and trades. Its people were rich. - Yaqūt, II, 61, now in ruins.

	Earliest ref. as town	Earliest ref. as village
	(Zughar (M.155)[1]	Yāqūt, II, 933.
	(Nazareth (Vit.34.36)[2]	Marāṣid (III, 190)
	(Zura' (Yāqūt,II,921)[3]	Ibn Bat. (I, 254)

III. Towns mentioned originally by al-Muqaddasi or later authors, but gradually became only administrative centers (marākiz).

		Earliest ref. to "marakis"
Coast-al	(Ḥiṣn al-Khawābī (M.154)[4]	Ta'rīf (Hart) 36.
C.S.	(Lajjūn (M.154)[5]	Qalqashandī (IV, 154)
	(Tadmur (M.154)[6]	Ta'rīf (29)
East-ern	(Salkhad (Yaq.,III,380)[7]	Qalqashandī (IV,107)
	(Idhra'āt (M.162)[8]	Ta'arīf (26)
Pla-teau	(Busra (Vit., 2-4)[9]	Qalqashandī (IV,107)
	(Mu'ān (M.155)[10]	Qalqashandī (IV,157, center)
	(Edhriḥ (M.155)	Ta'arīf (26)

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(1) Idrīsī (J.), I, 338 speaks of the activity of the Dead Sea towns, including Zughar, in local commercial relations. Yāqūt, II, 934, speaks of the plantations of the valley, which is one of the worst places. - Marāṣid, I, 514, quotes Yāqūt, and his tone implies, as in the case of Yaqūt, that it was not a big place.

(2) Daniel, 69, speaks of Nazareth as a small town. This was even in the time of the Crusaders, as Daniel visited the place in 1106-7. - Marāṣid, III, 190, a village. - Qalq., IV, 150, a very small town (bulayda saghīrah).

(3) Yāqūt, II, 921, a small town of the Ḥawrān. - Ta'rīf (Hart.), 27. - Ibn Batutah, I, 254, says that the pilgrims came to the town of Zur'a, which was a small one (town).

(4) Qalq., IV, 147, a castle.

(5) Qalq., IV, 154, an old village; but center of an "'amal".

(6) Qalq., IV, 114, quotes Abul Fidā (Ṣāḥib Ḥamā), who says that Tadmur had olives and date-palms, and refers to its walls and castle. Qalq., however, does not give any additional information, but he considers it as the center of its "'amal".

(7) Yāqūt, III, 380, Sarkhad is a fortified castle. - Dimashqi, 270, says that it is a castle. - Abul Fidā, 258, a small town. - Qalq., IV, 107, a small town with orchards and vineyards. Al-Masālik =

IV. Towns mentioned originally by al-Muqaddasi or later authors, but which became smaller during the following period. Arab geographers refer to them as "bulayda" or "balda saghira".

		Earliest ref. to small town
Coast-al	(Alexandretta (M.154) (1)	A'lāq (cited Durr, 187)
	(Jabalah (M.154) (2)	Abul-Fidā (254)
	(Antarṭūs (M.154) (3)	Qalqashandī (IV, 148)
	(Arwād (Vit.20) (4)	

= (quoted by Qalq, ib) says that Baybars repaired after the Mongols' destruction. Qalq seems to think of it as a little more than just an administrative center. - Zub.(R.), 46, says that it was an administrative center and that it had a castle.

(8) Ta'rīf (Hart.), 26, refers to Idhri'āt as an "'amal" on its own. Qalq., IV, 105, quoting Ta'rīf says that it was the center for the safqa (larger than a 'amal.)

(9) Yāqūt, I, 654, qasabat (capital) of the Kūra (district) of Hawrān. - Qalq., IV, 107, gives Busra as an administrative center. Ta'rīf and Masālik, quoted by Qalq., (ib., 108), give the impression that in the time of al-'Umarī it was a more important center.

(10) Yāqūt, IV, 571, a town on the fringes of Bādiyat ash-Shām, nearer to al-Hijāz.

(1) Idrīsī (J.) II, 132, the center of a rich district with date-palms, and other products. (No special mention of harbour). - A'lāq, cited in Durr, 187, "it is on the coast, and it has date-palms.

(2) Yāqūt, II, 25, a strong fort on the coast. - Abul Fidā, 254, a small town. - Ibn Batutah, I, 172-3, it is about a mile from the city; a place with lots of perennial waters and trees. - Qalq., IV, 148, a small town. - Durr, 267, writes, "Jabalah ... has a castle and it is a fine town."

(3) Idrīsī (J.), II, 133, full markets and active trading. - Yāqūt, I, 388 it has two strong forts. - Masālik (MS), 137a, a small town (madīna saghīra) on the coast; its markets were full. - Qalq., IV, 148, seems to approve of Abul Fida's statement that it was peopled.

(4) Burchard, 18-9, a fair city stood on the isle of Aradium.

Coast-al	Bulunyas (M.154) (1)	Yāqūt (I.729)
	'Arqa (M.154) (2)	Abul-Fidā (254)
	Ḥiṣn al-Akrād	Ta'rīf (36)
	Jubayl (Id.355) (3)	Ta'rīf (37)
	Ramla (M.164-5) (4)	Yāqūt (II.817f)
N.C.	Salamiyah (M.154) (5)	Yāqūt (III.123)
	Ma'arra (Miṣrīn)(M.154) (6)	Yāqūt (IV,574)
	Shayzar (M.154)	Yāqūt (III,353)
	Zabadānī (M.154) (7)	Yāqūt (II,913)

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(1) Idrīsī (J.), II, 130-1, a small town, crowded with people; fruits and cereals grow abundantly in its neighbourhood. - Yāqūt, I, 729, a small town and a fort.

(2) Idrīsī (Rome edition, p. 136), a populous town. - Yāqūt, III, 653, just a town. - A'lāq (MS), III, 123a, mentions plantation of sugar canes. - Abul-Fidā, 254, a small town.

(3) Khusrau, 9, all round the town are date-palms and other trees of a warm region. "I met here a boy who had in his hand two roses". - Burchard, 15, "now is very small".

(4) Khusrau, 21, great city; water is obtained from rainfall; marble is plentiful in private houses and other buildings. - Idrīsī (J.) I, 339, a fine town, with many people. It has markets, trade and customs duties. - Yāqūt, II, 817, it has been ruined. - According to A'lāq (MS), III, 137a, Ramlah was rebuilt by Baybars in 664, made an administrative center ('amal) with a 'āmil and a qāḍī installed there. - Abul Fidā, 240, gives a summary of the history of Ramlah, but does not refer to its state in his times. - Suchem, 65, "situated in a most beautoous, pleasant, and delectable place, and inhabited by christians alone. All the wine drunk by the christians in Jerusalem and the other places is brought from hence." - Qalq, IV, 100, now it is the seat of al-Kāshif. - Brocquiere, 286, "Ramle is without walls, but a good and commercial town, seated in an agreeable and fertile district."

(5) Idrīsī (J.), II, 137, a garrison town on the fringe of the Desert. - Yaqūt, III, 123, a small town (bulaydah). - Abul-Fidā, 264, town (baldah). - Qalq., IV, 114, a town on the fringes of the Desert.

(6) Ma'arrat Miṣrīn (or Miṣrīn). - Yāqūt, IV, 574, a small town (bulaydah). - Marāṣid, III, 120, copies Yaqūt. - A'lāq (MS) I, 52b, its people are rich.

(7) Yāqūt, II, 913, kūra district. He does not call it a town, so it could not have been more than a village.

	(Baysān (M.162)[1]	Yāqūt, (I, 788)
J.V.	(Jericho (M.174-5)[2]	Yāqūt, (I, 227)
	(Banyās (M.160)[3]	Qalqashandī (IV, 104)
S.C.	(Bayt-Jibrīn (M.174)[4]	Yāqūt, (I. 776)[4]
	(Nawa (M.154)[5]	Ta'rīf (26)
E.P.	('Ammān (M.173)[6]	Marasid (II, 277)
	(Ayla (M.178)[7]	Yāqūt, (I, 422)

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(1) Daniel, 59, thick groves of date trees grow in the town. - Idrīsī (J.), I, 339, plenty of dates, and samān (special mat straw.) - Yāqūt, I, 788, a town. Yāqūt, who had been there several times, says that he saw only two date-palms. - Burchard, 47, speaks of it as "an exceedingly luxurious place. - Abul-Fidā, 242, very fertile. - In Ta'rīf, cited in Qalq., IV, 104, Baysān is referred as the center of the wali (of a district.). Masālik (quoted ib.,), says that it had a small castle.

(2) Yāqūt, I, 227, does not specify its status, but this is often the case with him when he refers to villages. - Burchard, 57, now it has scarce eight houses. - Ta'rīf, cited Qalq., IV, 104, emphasizes the importance of the castle here.

(3) Ibn Jubair, 300, spoke of Banyās, as a fort (thaghr) and town. - Dimashqī, 285, writes, "... Its fortress is called as-Subayba; it is very ancient and well fortified town... the soil and climate are good and water is abundant." - Abul Fidā, 254, "a small town possessing many shrubs of the sage-plant called hamd".

(4) Yāqūt, I, 776.

(5) Yaqut, IV, 815, a small town (bulaydah) of the Hawrān. - Ta'rīf (cited in Qalq., IV, 105), - a small town (balda saghira).

(6) Marāsid, II, 277, speaks of 'Ammān as formerly a qasabat (capital of a kūra or district). This implies, in our opinion, a lower status in the time of the author.

(7) Idrīsī (J.), I, 295, a small town, which is controlled by the Arabs (presumably Badw,). - Yāqūt, III, 353, a fort.

V. Towns which persisted as such, or increased in magnitude, even into the 9th (15th) century. Earliest reference is given.

Coastal

Antioch (M. 154)

Lādhiqiyya (M. 156)

Ṣahyūn (Abu., 256)

Tripoli (M. 160)

Bairūt (M. 160)

Sidon (M. 160)

Gaza (M. 174)

Ramla (M. 164-5)

North Central

'Izaz (Yaq. III, 667)

Aleppo (M. 155)

Sarmīn (Yaq. III, 83)

Ḥārim (Yaq., II, 184)

Ḥamā (M. 155)

Ma'arrat Nu'mān (M. 154)

Kafr Ṭāb (M. 154)

Ḥims (M. 156)

Ba'lback (M. 154)

~~Dimashq~~ Damascus (M. 156-60)

South Central

Ṣafad (Yaq. III, 399)

Jinīn (Yaq. II, 180)

Nablus (M. 174)

Jerusalem (M. 165ff)

al-Khalīl (M. 172-3)

Eastern Plateau

'Ajlūn (Dim. 270)

As-Salt (Abu. 244)

Taken together the towns mentioned by the geographers of the period, which were 76 in number, and examined on the ground of regional grouping, they may be summed up as follows:

Geog. Zone	(1) Ruined	(2) Village	(3) Marakiz	(4) Smaller Towns	(5) Towns	Totals
Coastal	7	4	1	8	8	28
N. Central	3	5	-	4	10	22
S. Central	-	1	1	1	5	8
Jor.Valley	2	1	-	3	-	6
E. Plateau	1	1	6	3	1	12
	13	12	8	19	24	76

II. NOTES ON LISTS I-IV (Inclusive)

An examination of the circumstances that led to the destruction or diminution of towns reveals some very interesting facts about the vicissitude of urban centers in Syria.

(1) One group of towns suffered destruction or decrease in importance as a result of wars, to which occasionally other events or factors may be added. Qinnasrīn, for example, had been suffering some decline after the Arab conquest of Syria, as a result of change of route.(1) But the Byzantine wars of 4th (10th) century were responsible for a first destruction of the town in 351/962. Later it received more blows in 389/998 and in 422/1030. However Qutulmish rebuilt the town and fortified it in 479/1086, but Tutush finally destroyed it a little later.(2)

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(1) Syria, VI (1925), 342.

(2) A'laq 51a; Durr, 163; El-art Kinnisrin; Suwaydiya came to an end probably as a result of change of hands in the north especially in Antioch.

The wars in the period of the Crusades led to the destruction and decline of many a town. The occupation of the country by the Crusaders did not cause any far reaching calamities, as most towns surrendered peacefully. But it was the periods of the reaction against the Crusaders which caused complete destruction of some towns. In these campaigns both parties were strong, the Latins had planted their castles and garrisons all along the coast and in parts of the interior. To drive them out was neither easy nor could it be achieved without losses of every kind and nature.

Thus the campaigns of Saladin caused 'Asqalān, Ramala, Bayt Jibrīn, Banyās (N. Palestine), Tiberias and Yabna, partial or complete destruction. Not only was this effected as a result of the campaigns themselves, but the wilful destruction as a precautionary measure was probably more effective. 'Asqalān was destroyed in 587/1191 (1) by Saladin, so that it may become no man's land. This was carried on further in 594/1197 (2) by al-'Ādil and al-'Azīz. Finally Baybars completed its destruction in 669/1270. (3)

Bayt Jibrīn and Yabna shared similar fates as a result of Saladin's campaigns. He purposely destroyed the citadel of Bayt-Jibrīn, (4) which, however, lost its military importance when the Crusaders withdrew from southern Palestine and concentrated more on 'Akkā and the North.

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(1) Ibn Athīr, XII, 46. It was partly rebuilt by the Crusaders later (ib. 50).
(2) Suluk, I, 141-2. Maqrizi remarks that the destruction was carried out because "the kings failed to defend the country against the Franks".
(3) Sulūk, I, 590. Baybars attended to its destruction in person.
(4) Yāqūt, I, 776.

In the north of Palestine two urban centers suffered heavily as a result of the Ayyūbīd campaigns - Tiberias and Banyās; the first as a result of Saladin's siege and the second destroyed by al-Mu'azzam in 615/1218.(1)

The campaigns of Baybars were more destructive. He saw that the coastal towns which fell to his hands were reduced to a condition which made them utterly useless in case the Latins ever reoccupied them, Arsūf(2) and Caesarea(3) were thus completely destroyed. Qaqūn, more inland, received a castle, and a mosque in place of Arsuf and Caesarea.(4)

Before the Crusaders lost Baysān to Baybars they had the town destroyed.(5) To this we may add the fact that after the completion of the conquest of Syria by the Mamlūks, which gave them a more direct route to Damascus via Marj Ibn 'Amir and its northern reaches, Baysān no more commanded an important route to that city.(6) Yet Baysān, because of its fertility, remained a small town.

Nazareth received its final blow during this period. It owned its comparative rise during the 6th (12th) century to its religious importance to the Crusades. It never had any claim to being on a convenient route or the like.

Jaffa had shared the fate of its neighbours when al-'Ādil occupied and destroyed it in 593/1197.(7) It was destroyed

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(1) A.Shāma (Rec. Orien. V, 171).
(2) Abu Shama, Dhayl, 234.
(3) Ib., 233; Sulūk, I, 526f; Abul Fidā, 238.
(4) Sulūk, I, 557.
(5) E.I. art Beisan.
(6) Baysān ceased to be a center of the barīd (post), Sauvaget, Post, 74 (map).
(7) Abu Shāma, Dhayl, 10. Abu Shāma adds that the stones, from its walls, were thrown into the port.

again in 664/1265, when Baybars occupied it.[1] An-Nāṣir laid waste its port early in the 14th century.[2]

A few coastal towns, which had reached great commercial military and administrative importance under the Crusades, were reserved for al-Ashraf to wipe them out. 'Akka[3] and Tyre[4] were among the prize of his campaigns.

An earthquake which took place in 702/1302[5] destroyed what the war had spared. Arwad was looted and partly ~~destroyed~~ damaged in 698/1298[6] and finally in 710/1210[7]

(2) Another group of towns, mainly in the North Eastern parts of Syria, were destroyed, or suffered a setback as a result of the Mongol invasion of the middle 7th (13th) century.[8] Bālis,[9] Manbij[10] and Ṣalkhad are the most important examples, to which Jusiah and Khunāṣira[11] may be added.

(3) Apart from the fact that many of the coastal towns were destroyed and thus hardly revived, there were others, which, though not destroyed by wars, suffered a noticeable decline in

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(1) Nujūm (Cairo), VII, 142.
(2) Von Suchem, cited by Tolkowsky, Gateway of Palestine, p. 129, notes 1&2.
(3) Abul Fidā took part in the siege of 'Akka in 690 (Abul Fidā, Tārikh, IV, 25-6). See Sulūk (I, 763-7) for details of the siege. Al-Ashraf, in a letter addressed to the ruler of Sīs (Zetter., 18) describes the complete destruction of the city. The letter was a sort of warning to the ruler of Sīs.
(4) Sulūk, I, 766. (5) Sulūk, I, 944.
(6) Nujūm (Cairo) VIII, 156-7. (7) Ib., IX, 172.
(8) Bālis had already been losing its importance on the Iraq-North Syrian route, but it was the Mongol invasion that gave it the final blow. See E.I. art Bālis; A'laq, 49a; Durr 159.
(9) Durr, 228. (10) Qalq., IV, 107.
(11) A'lāq, 50a. A change of the route affected Khunasira, see Dussaud, Topog., map XIV.

the 8th (14th) century. In this group of towns may be included Alexandretta, Maraclea (Marqia of Dimashqi), Jabalah, Antartūs, Batrun. Bulunyās (Banyas), 'Arqa, and Suwaydiya. Generally speaking those towns owed their importance to commercial activities in the 4th (10th) and 5th (11th) centuries; an activity which was intensified during the 6th (12th) and 7th (13th) centuries due to the presence of the Latins in Syria. With the breakdown of the Latin states trade was brought to a standstill for a short period. When, however, it was revived, neither its volume, nor the Mamluk's strict control of the country allowed a full revival of all the towns on the coast. Tripoli, Lādhiqiyya, Bairūt, Sidon and Gaza were enough for the purpose and volume of trade carried on. Other towns satisfied themselves either with slumber broken sometimes by occasional yawning, or with the dignified status of a village.

Two other places on the coastal slopes need be mentioned here. Kabūl fell with the fall of 'Akkā, and Hisn al-Akrad became a second-rate place when the seat of the governor of the district was transferred from it to Tripoli.(1)

(4) How could we explain the decline of towns such as Ma'arrat Misrīn, Salamiyah, Raqqa, Zabadānī and Shayzar? A reasonable explanation may be found in the change of routes. Salamiyah was a centre for trade-routes from Tadmur and 'Irāq. Besides, during the Crusades it became a center for the concentration of Islamic armies.(2) After the Crusades, we may presume, it lost its

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(1) EI art. Assassins; Qalq., IV, 144; Rep. XII, p. 148, no. 4623; p. 149 no. 4624; p. 150, no. 4625.
(2) EI art. Salamia.

military value. As a result of the change of the trade route (1) it lost its commercial activity and thus its importance. Ma'arrat Nisrīn is probably another example. Shayzar suffered heavily from earthquakes, the worst of which was that of 552/1157. (2) Shayzar was rebuilt in 630/1232, but with the expulsion of the Crusaders and the crushing of the Assassins, it ceased to draw the attention of the rulers.

Raqqa lost its 4th (10th) century importance to Ruhba. (3) Zabadānī suffered because the route between Damascus and the coast via Maysalūn took precedence over that connecting Damascus with the north via Zabadānī. What kept for Zabadānī a part of its former value, was its fruits and other products, thanks to the abundance of water there.

Thus a change of route in the inner parts of the country seems to be the main factor for the decline.

(5) A group of towns which dotted the Eastern Plateau and eventually declined or decayed, occupies us now. Ayla ('Aqaba) Mu'ān, Idhriḥ, Mu'āb, 'Ammān, Jarash, Buṣra, Idhra'āt, Nuwa, Zura' and Tadmur do not allow a general explanation.

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(1) This change of route which shifted the trade from the Iraq-Syria line to the north, is best illustrated by the spread of the plague in the middle of the 8th (14th) century. The scourge came from the Crimea to the Islands of the Mediterranean, apparently via Constantinople, to Egypt. From Cairo it moved to the north to Gaza, 'Akka, Beirut, Tripoli. Another direction in which it moved was from Gaza to Jerusalem, Damascus and finally to Aleppo. (Ibn al-Wardī, II, 350-1). See also Poliak in REI, 1935, 231-2. This change of route affected mainly towns and ports in northern Syria.

(2) Ibn Athīr, XI, 144; Abul Fidā, Tarīkh, III, 32. Qalānisī, however, gives description of two earthquakes which destroyed Shayzar; one in 551 (Qalānisī,335) and another in 552 (ib.337) Cf. Hitti, Arab-Syrian Gentleman, p.6. In Ibn Athir, XI, 233 =

When Palestine was under the dominance of the Crusaders, the towns or villages on the fringes of the Desert in Transjordan were centers of trade and communication between the Red Sea and Damascus. This explains why Ayla, Mu'ān, Idhriḥ, Mu'ab, Ammān and Jarash rose to a comparative prominence, al-Karak taking the place of Mu'ab during that period.(1) Caravans passing that route paid their tolls and carried their merchandise. When Renault of al-Karak interferred with one of those caravans, he actually violated the terms of peace. When Saladin wanted to revenge, it proved to be the beginning of his famous campaigns.

The expulsion of the Crusaders from Transjordan, late in the 6th (12th) century freed the caravans from tolls and, very likely, encouraged a larger volume of trade to pass along that route.

But what brought a definite decline in the eastern route was the final expulsion of the Latins from Syria. This freed the coastal route from Egypt to the Northern parts of Syria. Besides, the Mamlūks saw that trade of the Red Sea was diverted to Egypt and then carried north. It is not a mere coincedence that the earliest reference to an inferior position of many of those towns occurs in Marāṣid, Abul Fidā and Ta'rīf! After C.700/1300 only pilgrims used this route, and what was important for the pilgrims was to have as good an administration as was possible, and

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= another earthquake seems to have completed the destruction. See also ar-Rahāwī (cited by Armala, al-Hurūb as-Salibiyya fil Athār as-Suryaniyya, Beirut, 1929, p. 142) who says that 40,000 people were killed at Shayzar.

(3) Qalq., IV, 115.

(1) And later as a military centre and a capital of a Mamlaka. See Rep. XII, p. 222, Nos. 4732, 4733; p. 223, No. 4734.

thus centres for wālis and nāyibs were needed, such as in Busra.

Whatever trade trickled directly from Irāq to Syria during the early Middle Ages, had Tadmur as one of its centres. During the 7th (13th) century there was a change of routes in the Near East,(1) the most important, in connection with the present discussion, was the decline of the Irāq -Syria route in favour of a more northerly one. This led to the final disappearance of Tadmur as a commercial town. It remained an administrative centre, at least as the easternmost post of the Mamlūk authority.

Nuwa and Zura', as well as Idhrā'āt are in the Ḥawrān. Ḥawrān has never been a region which favoured the growth of large towns. Even in the Graeco-Roman period, when town foundation reached its highest in Syria, Ḥawrān remained a zone of villages, and the village was the center of its life.(2) Al-Muqaddasi, who knew Syria well, says of Ḥawrān that it was a region of villages.(3) Ibn Shaddād leaves us with a similar impression.(4) A similar remark comes from aẓ-Ẓāhirī, the author of Zubdat Kashf al-Mamalik.(5) One almost feels that al-Muqaddasi allowed Ḥawrān a few "towns", only in a patronizing way!

(6) 'Arjamūsh, Kāmid, Lajjūn, Jericho and Zughar, to judge from information at our disposal, were more of large villages which the generosity of al-Muqaddasi raised to towns. Out of reach by traders and not very vital as administrative centres, they lost their temporary prominence which they enjoyed for short

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(1) Supra, p.
(2) Jones, Greek City, 88.
(3) Muq., 160.
(4) A'lāq, 114a.
(5) Zubd., 47.

periods. Jericho, especially, may have enjoyed such a position when it linked Jerusalem with Transjordan during the Crusades.

The following list sums up the relation between decline (or decay) and causes:

(1) Towns which owe their decline to wars:

(a) Byzantine age - Qinnasrīn, Suwaydiyah.

(b) The Age of Ayyūbids.[1] - 'Asqalān, Bayt Jibrīn, Bānyās (in N. Palestine), Tiberias, Yabnā.

(c) The Mamlūk Period. - Caesarea, Arsūf, Nazareth, Baysān, Tyre, 'Akkā, Jubayl, Arwād, Jaffa.

(2) Towns destroyed by the Mongols: - Bālis, Manbij, Khunāsirah, Jūsia, Ṣalkhad (Ṣarkhad).

(3) Towns, mainly on the coast and immediate slopes, which fell as a result of the fall of the Latin states and concentration of trade in certain ports: - Alexandretta, Maraclea (Maraqiah), Jabalah, Antartūs, Banyās, 'Arqa, Batrūn, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Kabūl.

(4) The change of route was responsible for the fall of a group of towns in North Central Syria: - Raqqa, Salamyah, Ma'arrat, Nisrīn, Zabadānī, Shayzar.

(5) Another group lost their importance because of a change of route, but in a region different from that of (4).: - Ayla ('Aqaba), Mu'ān, Idhriḥ, Mu'āb, 'Ammān, Jarash, Buṣra, Ithrd'āt, Nuwa, Zura', Tadmur.

(6) 'Arjamūsh, Kāmid, Lajjūn, Jericho and Zughar were not of any importance, either in position or wealth, to remain towns for a long time.

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(1) As a result of the wars with the Crusades.

III. NOTES ON LIST V.

The towns mentioned in list (V) above shared, with other Syrian towns, all the troubles; but they seem to have survived even the greatest calamities. Could we explain this survival?

It may not be out of place to review, at the outset, the calamities, natural or political which visited the towns under consideration. Earthquakes took their toll of people and buildings when the towns were hit. Thus in 508/1114 not only 'Izāz,[1] but all Syria, was shocked.[2] In 533/1138 ~~Halab~~ Aleppo suffered heavily.[3] Hamāh, Hims, Antioch, Lādhiqiyya, Tripoli, Bairūt, and Sidon were partly damaged by repeated shocks in 552/1157.[4] Again in 565/1168 earthquakes shook Hamā, Damascus, Ba'lback, Hims and ~~Halab~~ Aleppo.[5] Hamāh, Ba'lback, Damascus, Safad and Nablus were rocked very heavily in 597/1202.[6] Gaza received a heavy blow in 692/1292.[7] Safad in 702/1302,[8] and most of the Syrian towns in 744/1343.[9] In 806/1402 ~~Halab~~ Aleppo and other northern towns suffered from earthquakes.[10]

Besides, Syria suffered plagues and famines, which were felt more in the towns, and especially the larger ones. In 656/1258

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(1) Lammens, Mashriq, I (1898), 307, (citing Recu. Orient I, 295; III, 551, 607).
(2) Propst. II, 11-3.
(3) Lammens, ib, (citing Recu. Orien. I, 25, 433; III, 502, 679-80. Ibn al-'Adīm gave a clear picture of the damages caused by the earthquakes in Halab, ib. III, 1459.)
(4) Ibn Athīr, XI, 144; Dalanisī 334, 334, 342-4; Abul Fidā, Tārīkh, III, 32; Widhyal (MS), 181b - 185b.
(5) Ibn Athīr, XI, 233; Propst., I, 26, 32.
(6) Ibn Athīr, XII, 112; Baghdadī, 59 (referred to as in the year 598).
(7) Sulūk, I, 873; Nujūm, VIII, 36.
(8) Mufaddal, III, 592; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 27; Sulūk, I, 944.
(9) Rawdat al-Manāzir (MS), 231.
(10) Ibid., 252.

Damascus was visited by plague,[1] and the country of Ramla and Jerusalem had a similar experience in 672/1273.[2] A more severe blow came over the country in 694/1294 which lasted well into the following year. This time plagues were accompanied by drought and famines.[3] Egypt too had a share of this pest.

When Ibn Batutah was in Syria Damascus suffered the loss of 2000 in one day.[4]

But by far the worst plague that dealt Syria a heavy blow was that of 749/1348. This was the Black Death of Mediaeval Europe. Ibn Taghri Bardi,[5] gives the following account of it: "It began at ~~Halab~~ Aleppo, then it spread throughout ash-Shām. The people of the regions of Safad, Jerusalem, al-Karak, Nablus and the coast were annihilated, as well as the 'urbān of the deserts. Only one old woman survived at Jinīn; and she ran away. Similar things happened at Ramla and other places. The ḫānāt (public houses, inns) were full of corpses. Ma'arrat, Shayzar and Ḥārim were spared on this occasion... In ~~Halab~~ Aleppo 500 died per day, Damascus lost 1200 per day, in Rajab 749, and Gaza lost 22,000 in a little less than a month."

In 764/1362 Damascus was again visited by plague. Ibn Kathīr says[6] that many Jews lost their lives then. We believe that their quarters in Damascus must have been overcrowded.

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(1) Nujūm, VII, 60.
(2) Sulūk, I, 612.
(3) Zettersteen, 37; Nujūm VIII, 57; Egatha, 32-5.
(4) Ibn Batutah, I, 229. - A letter written by Elijah of Ferrara in 1434 states that 500 died in Damascus and 90 in Jerusalem in one day. (Adler, 152.)
(5) Nujūm, (Popper), V, 63; see also Ibn al-Wardī, II, 350-1.
(6) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 302, 308.

Fires, too, caused the towns heavy damages. Damascus, where timber was the usual building material, was more exposed to fired than many another town. As examples we may quote the fires of 643/1244,[1] 740/1339,[2] 744/1343,[3] 794/1391,[4] and 798/1395.[5] The damages were great. For example in 794/1391 eight sūqs, the Mosque and St. Mary's Church were almost completely destroyed.

Besides, Damascus suffered from floods. Two of these which took place in the latter years of the 7th (13th) century may suffice to illustrate the extent of damage that were due to floods. In 683/1284 the waters of Barada flooded houses and fanadiq (inns).[6] But that of 696/1297 was of greater magnitude. The waters reached the higher parts of the walls of the city, destroyed houses and other buildings and swept the bridge. Trees were uprooted and over 10,000 people lost their lives. Pilgrims who had pitched their camps in the Maydān, were drowned with their animals of burden.[7]

Aleppo
~~Halab~~ too suffered from fires. In 650/1252, for example, one fire caused the destruction of 600 buildings.[8]

The greatest plight which, however, hit Syrian towns, especially the inland ones, was the mongol invasions. The destruction they carried in their wake, especially the campaigns of Tamerlane,

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(1) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 175. See also Ibn al-Wardī, II, 284 for the fire of 738/1337.
(2) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 186.
(3) Ibid., 210.
(4) Ibn Furat, IX, 307.
(5) Ibn Sisri (MS), 172-3.
(6) Ibn al-Wardī, II, 232.
(7) Nuwayri, cited by H. Zayat, Mashriq, XXXVI (1938), 164.
(8) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 182. Antioch was burnt in 666/1267. Sulūk, I, 567.

left Aleppo, Ḥamā and Damascus skeleton towns.(1)

Yet those towns stood all this and recovered every time they received a blow. What were the causes underlying this survival?

(a) One group of towns owe their survival mainly to their geographical position. Aleppo, Ḥalab, Damascus, Ḥamā, Ḥims, Sarmīn, Ma'arrat Nu'mān, Kafr Ṭāb, and Ramla. Here the geographical factor is two-fold. On the one hand it allowed the town a fertile area, on which to draw for provisions. On the other these towns enjoyed, in various degrees, an important position on one or more routes.

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(1) (a)658-9. The Mongols, according to their usual practice killed men, captured boys and women and carried them away, with cattle and herds, (Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 204). When the Mongols occupied the citadels of as-Salt, 'Ajlūn, Salkhad, Busrā, and Subaybah, they destroyed them all, (ib., 206).
(b) Ghazan's invasion:
Ghazān occupied Damascus, but he failed to capture the citadel. Argawāsh, nāyib al-qal'a, encouraged by Ibn Taymiyyah (Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 7-8) stood fast against the attack. In order to remove all possible spring boards for the siege, Argawāsh burnt the buildings around the citadel, including Dār al-hadīth al-Ashrafiyyah and Dar as-Sa'ādah. (Abul Fidā, Tarikh, IV, 45; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 9). The Mongols on their way caused Sarmīn, Ma'arrah, Tīzīn to suffer greatly at their hands, (Abul Fidā, ib., 47.)
(c) The invasions of Timerlane
Timerlane's invasion caused Syria great losses. His soldiers burnt Aleppo and led men, women and children, who had sought refuge in the Mosque (Nujūm, Pop., VI, 51). Killing and looting in Aleppo continued for a few days, as well as the destruction of houses and burning of mosques, (ib., 52, 55). When Timarlane left Aleppo it was just a deserted place, with traces of fire on ruins. Hardly anybody lived there, (ib., 53). Timerlane burnt Ḥamā, so that it became like Aleppo, (ib.) The amount Timerlane imposed on Damascus was 1,000,000 dinars, but when it was collected he said he had meant 10,000,000 dinārs. His argument was that he had said one thousand Tūmān, a tūmān being 10,000, (ib, 64). Timarlane laid seige to Damascus for 80 days, during this period all the city was burnt. The roofs of the Umayya Mosque fell, its doors disappeared, and nothing but its walls remained. Other =

Aleppo and Damascus, by far the largest, are centres of fertile areas, which leave very little to be desired in the way of agricultural products, Damascus being richer in varieties, and probably surer of supplies owing to the abundance of water in its neighbourhood. If the climatic conditions may be taken into consideration Aleppo may prove more attractive.(1)

Besides, Aleppo has always been the central point on a large number of trade routes; from the Taurus and Armenia; from Mesopotamia; from the south; from the west - routes converged on Aleppo, where merchants exchanged their goods.(2)

Damascus enjoys a similar position in central Syria. In addition to this commercial position, it had, since Islam spread in the Near East, become an important centre for pilgrims, on their way to the Ḥijāz.

Ḥamā and Ḥims occupy the intermediary positions between the two great cities, and routes, both in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, connecting Aleppo and Damascus passed through Ḥamā and Ḥims.

But in addition those two towns correspond favourably with the ports. Ḥims is the terminus for the Tripoli route, inland, while Ḥamā could do well for Lādhiqiyya. Besides, Ḥims connects very easily with Ba'lback, the center of the Biqā'.(3)

= mosques of Damascus as well as its qaysariyyas, houses and baths were ruined, (ib., 67-8). See also, 'Ajāyib, al-maqdūr, pp. 88ff.

(1) On the geographical position of Aleppo see Sauvaget, Alep, 1-13; Yaq, II, 304-15. On Damascus see Sauvaget, ~~Dimashq, 6-8~~; Esquisse, 425ff. J.A. Tower, Oasis of Damascus, pass; Dimashq, 261-3.

(2) Sauvaget, Alep, 18; Dussaud, Topog., 242-4, 432-5, 476ff, Map XIV; Syrian Desert, 45, 93; Abul Fidā, 266.

(3) On Ḥamā as a centre of routes see Ibn Jubair, 255; Dussaud, Topog., 181-5, 235-45; map XIV. On Ḥims see Dussaud, Topog., 146; map XIV.

But Hamā and Hims are in fertile regions. Al'Aṣī provides them, the first directly and the second indirectly with water for the people and the land, and the land gives full reward for the labour put in it.(1)

Could one find, too, in the proximity of the four towns - Aleppo, Damascus, Ḥamā and Ḥims - to the Desert any bearing on their survival? We are inclined to believe that people from the fringes of the Desert have always grafted the edge-towns with new blood. This gave them more resistance and supplied them with energy, which was needed for their rebuilding over and again.

Three other towns, in this part of Syria, owed their continued existence to their geographical position on routes. They

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(1) Ḥims: Idrisi writes:"It is populous and much frequented by travellers who come there for its products and rarities of all kinds. Its markets are always open. The river Orontes ... flows by the gate, and there are gardens one after another along it, belonging to the city, with trees and many water channels... the soil is excellent for the tilling and raising of crops; and the climate is more equable than that of any other town in Syria." (quoted by Le Strange, Palestine, 354-5) - Yāqūt, II, 334, said that Hims was a large and celebrated town, walled and had a strongly fortified castle standing on a high hill to the south. Hims lies half way between Damascus and ~~Halab~~ Aleppo. - Abul Fidā, 261, praised its beautiful gardens and vineyards. - Al'Umarī, in al-Masālik (quoted in Durr, 273) says, after dwelling on the beauty of Hims in the spring, that its lake has fish which was originally brought there from the Euphrates. -
Ḥamā: Ibn Jubair, 255f. spoke of it as populous and fruitful. Its water-wheels were used for the irrigation of its fields. Ibn Jubair's description of Hama is rather lengthy. - Yāqūt, II, 330, said that was a large town, surrounded by a wall and strongly built, rich and populous. - Abul Fidā, 262, refers to its river, gardens, fertility and pleasantness. - Ibn Batutah, I, 141, spoke highly of its being a pleasant place to live in. He was impressed by the rich suburb of al-manṣūriyyah, with its fine markets, baths and mosque. - See also Brocquiere, 310-11, on experiences in Hama. According to him, however, Hama has been effected by the invasion of Timarlane. - According to Abul Fidā, ib., the Ayyubids were interested in the town and built extensively there.

are Sarmīn, Ma'arrat Nu'mān and Kafr Ṭāb. Sarmīn, besides being between Aleppo and Ma'arrat was on the route between Aleppo and Lathiqiyah via jisr ash-Shughur. Ibn Batutah testified to its commercial activity in the 8th (14th) century.(1) In addition Sarmīn enjoyed a rich region.(2) Ma'arrat lay on the Aleppo-Ḥamā route, and in the midst of a rich neighbourhood rich in olives and fruits.(3) Kafr Ṭāb was on the western route between Aleppo and Ḥamā.(4)

Ramla suffered a decline as a result of the Ayyūbīd campaigns. Saladin destroyed its citadel in 583/1187,(5) which was restored by Baybars in 664/1265.(6) Ramla suffered from earthquakes.(7) But it proved its worth as an urban center, as it is to be noted from Von Suchem's reference to it.(8) Ramla is situated in the center of a fertile district, and is at a crossroad. Az-Ẓāhirī, in his Zubdah, speaks of Ramla as a fine town with Mosques, schools, zāwiyas and Khānqās. Its White Mosque (jāmi') was a beautiful monument.(9)

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(1) Ibn Batutah, I, 145-6, olive groves covered the district; soap and cloths were made there.
(2) In A'lāq (MS), I, 52b, Sarmīn is described as a town with large areas attached to it, with markets and about 300 mosques (masjids) besides the Jāmi' (Mosque). - Abul Fidā, 264, says that it had many olives and other trees, and that it had broad lands and dependencies and the soil was very fertile.
(3) Ibn Jubair, 254; Abul Fidā, 264; Ibn Batutah, I, 145; Masālik (MS), 138b.
(4) Abul Fidā, 262; Dussaud, Topog., 178f.
(5) Athīr, XII, 47; Yaqūt, II, 817; Mujīr, II, 417.
(6) A'lāq (MS), III, 128b; Sulūk, I, 550.
(7) Ramla was effected by earthquakes in 425/1033 (I.Athīr, IX,298), in 692/1292;(Sulūk, I, 783), in 702/1302; (Mufaddal, III, 592; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 26) and in 744/1343 (Rawdat al-Manāzir, MS. fol. 231).
(8) Suchem, 65, "Inland not far from Joppa, there stands a fair city, once called Ruma, [illegible] situated in a most beauteous, pleasant and delectable place."
(9) Zub. (R), 46.

(b) Safad, Ḥārim, 'Izāz and Ṣahyūn owed a great deal of their importance to their position, and in the case of Ḥārim and 'Izaz, to their fertility. But their value first and foremost comes from the fact that they were of military value, in an age of wars.

Safad was first built by the Crusaders as a castle in 1140. Saladin occupied it 584/1188, and early in the 7th (13th) century the fortress was razed to the ground. The Templars, to whom the town was ceded in 1240 by as-Ṣāliḥ Isma'il, fortified it. It was Baybars who eventually rescued it from the Latins in 664/1266. He rebuilt whatever parts were destroyed and strengthened it, in 665/1268,(1) and made it the center of his army.(2) It was from Safad that he tried to ravage the region of 'Akkā.(3)

Thus although not on a trade route, as the route from Damascus normally passes to the east of it in the lower and easier reaches, Safad maintained its place because of its commanding position. A force stationed there had the Ḥūlah district, the Tiberias region, the lower Galilees, the plain of 'Akkā and the reaches of Jabal 'Amil within easy reach, and could strike most rapidly.

In the northern parts of Syria there were many fortresses and castles, as one can see from a quick reference to al-A'lāq, at-Ta'rif, aṣ-Ṣubḥ or Ẓubdat Kashf al-Mamālik. But we have left out the towns or fortress-towns which, although at one

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(1) Rep., XII, p. 125, No. 4589; Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 240, gives the date of the digging of a ditch as 665/1266.
(2) Abul Fidā, 242.
(3) Abu Shāma, Dhayl, 240.

time belonged to the Mamlūks, are outside the natural frontiers of Syria. Besides we are not dealing with castles as such, but with urban centers. 'Izāz and Hārim, like Safad, were towns, but constituted an important section in the lines of defence in the north. Hārim was a vital point of defence for Antioch, against the invaders from the East, or against Antioch in defence of the East.[1] This was noted by William of Tyre. Ibn ash-Shiḥna gives a long account of military history of Hārim,[2] which shows, beyond doubt, why the town interested the rulers. That it was, too, a rich town and enjoyed an abundance of water which gave rise to a large number of orchards and mills,[3] did certainly give it lease to continued existence.

'Izāz had its castle[4] too, and played its part in the wars in Northern Syria. And again, like Hārim, it was rich in natural resources.[5]

Ṣahyūn holds an extremely strong position, perched on a hilltop and surrounded by a valley and a moat. Under the Mamlūks it served two purposes: firstly as a center against the restless population of Nuṣayriyya Mountains, whom the Mamluks never trusted. Secondly, it could help to defend Lādhiqiyya, in case the town was exposed to an attack from the sea. Abul Fidā, Ta'rīf, Qalqashandī and Ibn ash-Shihna give Ṣahyūn its due as a

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(1) XV, 16, where the town is called Harenc.
(2) Durr, 165f., based on Ibn Shaddād.
(3) A'laq, 54; Abul Fidā, 258; see, on Hārim, Dussaud, Topog., index.
(4) Yaq., III, 667; the citadel was destroyed by the Mongols in 658/1259. See Durr, 168.
(5) A'laq, 55b, 57; Abul Fidā, 232.

fortified place.[1]

(c) What were the causes or factors which contributed to the survival of Antioch, Lādhiqiyya, Tripoli, Beirūt, Sidon and Gaza, when other ports declined or disappeared. Could we trace a special Mamlūk policy in fortifying these towns? And if so, what were the circumstances which made the choice inevitable?

When Antioch was conquered in 666/1267, it had 100,000 population.[2] Even when some exaggeration is allowed for, there remains a large number. The city and its neighbourhood is a rich region, and when well exploited and its commerce is flourishing, it could support a large number of inhabitants. Antioch was losing its commercial importance because Aleppo had been capturing more and more of it, and because Antioch had lost its good sea-port (at Suwaydiya). So when Baybars conquered it, the city could no longer claim such a large number of people living within its walls. But Baybars had no reason to destroy Antioch, because of his good relations with the Byzantines,[3] who could claim many Greeks living in the city. Besides Baybars could not entertain any fears of the Latins renewing attacks on Antioch, as it was then outside their

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(1) Yaqūt, III, 438, refers to the strong position of Sahyūn. - Abul Fidā, 256, "the town of Sahyūn possesses a fine castle, so strong that it cannot be taken by assault. It is one of the most celebrated of the fortresses of Syria. The water-supply is abundant, being stored from the rain-fall." (Translation of Le Strange, Palestine, 526) - Ta'rīf (Hart.), 35, a strong fortress. - Qalq., IV, 145 hardly adds anything to Yaqūt and Abul Fidā, but he implies that it was strong in his time. - Ibn ash-Shihna, (Durr, 267), evidently copies Yaqūt, But as he does not contradict the statement, it may be taken to represent conditions in his time too.

(2) Sulūk, I, 567, certainly including the fighting forces.

(3) Al-'Aynī ('Iqd al-Jumān) and Zubdat al-Fikra, cited by Sunūr, Baybars, P. 117.

sphere of influence. This policy, contrary to his action in Caesarea and Arsūf, gave Antioch a new lease of life. His successors did not upset the scales set in its favour by Baybars. Abul-Fidā and Ibn Batutah refer to Antioch as rich, well built and large town.(1)

Ladhiqiyya could claim a fairly good harbour, and thus be an outlet for the products of the fertile district which pour into the town. Besides, Lathiqiya is within easy reach of Rhodes and Cyprus. In the 8th (14th) century when only a smaller number of seaports were needed than in the previous two centuries, it was natural that only the most fitted for the needs of the time should remain. Abul Fidā refers to its harbour as preferred to others;(2) Ibn Baṭuṭah describes it as "one of the best in ash-Shām."(3) Qalqashandī is more modest; he says, "it has a good harbour."(4)

Tripoli and Bairūt stood in different circumstances from those of Antioch and Lādhiqiyya. The Latins, after losing them to the Mamlūks, aspired for their recapture. They translated their hopes into action many a time, but failed to achieve any

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(1) Abul Fidā, 256; Ibn Batutah, I, 162, "well built, with fine houses, plenty of trees and water. - Earlier writers have invariably praised Antioch. Thus Idrisi (J.), II, 131, says, "After Damascus it is the finest town. It has copious water - supply, rich markets, beautiful buildings and orchards." - Benjamin, 78, was impressed by the size and wealth of the place. - By the time of Brocquiere, early in the 9th (15th) century Antioch had declined. According to him (p. 313), it had about 300 houses only.

(2) Abul Fidā, 256, says "Ladhiqiyya has many cisterns. The city is on the coast and has a fine and excellent port."

(3) Ibn Batutah, I. 83.

(4) Qalq., IV; citing al-Azizī, Masalik (MS), 137, "it is reported that there is no other harbour like Lathiqiya in ash-Sham." Durr, 267, big town with a harbour.

permanent occupation.(1) Thus the Mamlūks were particularly interested in fortifying those two ports.

When Tripoli was occupied in 688/1289, it was destroyed by the order of the Sultan.(2) But a new town, a short distance from the port, and occupying a more commanding position, was built by the same Sultan (al-Manṣūr) in the same year.(3) It was this new town which gradually grew into the city of the 8th (14th) and 9th (15th) centuries.(4) That in addition to the military importance, Tripoli was rich in a variety of commodities that attracted merchants to it, this is testified by writers from the 6th (12th) to the 9th (15th) centuries.(5)

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(1) Salih, 331, 35-6, 37; Cheikho, Mashriq, XXIII (1925), 867-8.
(2) Sulūk, I, 747.
(3) Tarikh ad-Dawla at-Turkiya (MS), 15b; Dimashqi, 207, (quoted by Le Strange, Palestine, 351.
(4) Abul Fidā, 252; Ibn Batuta said of Tripoli that it was surrounded with beautiful orchards, and its wonderful markets were full, both sea and land supply it with their bounties (I, 137-8). Durr, citing Masālik al-Absār of 'Umarī, said that water reached even high floors in the houses. It was possible to obtain wallnuts, bananas, sugar-canes and snow in it. Sugar was manufactured in Tripoli. Ships carried to and from it various goods. It contained a hospital, schools, mosques, zawiyas and beautiful baths. (Durr, 262.) Cf. Qalq, IV, 143.
(5) Idrīsī (quoted by Le Strange, Palestine, 350), says of Tripoli "Atrabulus of Syria is a great city, defended by a stone wall, and impregnable. It has villages and territories and fine domains; and many trees such as olives, vines, sugar-canes, and fruit-trees of all kinds, and of all manner of crops a variety beyond count. Coming and going there is perpetual. The sea embraces the town on three sides, and it is one of the great fortresses of Syria. All sorts of wares are brought thither and stuffs and merchandise great quantities." - The products mentioned by Idrīsī seem to have continued to be produced in the neighbourhood in the time of Dimashqi, c. 1300 (See Le Strange, Palestine, 351, quoting Dimashqi.) - In Ibn Batutah's description of Tripoli we read that the town was traversed by water-channels and full of gardens. There were fine baths in the town, (Ibn Batutah, I, 137.) - Al-'Umarī, in al-Masālik, (quoted in Durr, 263), refers to its gardens, vineyards, orchards. It was a great port to which sea-merchants come where their ships lay anchor. Its bimaristan, =

Beirūt was fortified, and a system of signals connecting it with Damascus was put into operation by the Mamlūks.(1) One important measure of protection taken early in the 8th (14th) century was the transfer of Turkmen to the Kisrawān, in Central Lebanon, and granting them iqta'āt, so that they may guard the coastal route against possible collaboration between the people of the district and the Latins!

That Beirūt attracted merchants is evident from Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yaḥyā, who reports that the King of Cyprus sent his boats to Beirut laden with goods from the Italian cities, for exchange with merchandise stored in Beirūt.(2) The town too had natural resources which were of vital importance for the Mamlūks - iron-ore in the Lebanon and timber from the Pine forest in its neighbourhood.(3) In 767/1365 a fleet could be built at Beirut for the campaign against Cyprus.(4) That Beirut possessed a good harbour is clear from various references.(5)

= schools, mosques and zawiyas are fine and its markets are rich." - Ibn ash-Shihna (Durr, 264) adds that it had a fine castle and a large number of government officers and merchants. - cf. az-Ẓāhirī (R.), 48, who confirms the information.

(1) Ṣāliḥ, 40.
(2) Sālih, 39-40, 101.
(3) Id.(J.), I, 355; A'laq, 127b; Ibn Batutah, I, 133; Pogg., 82.
(4) Sālih, 52-3.
(5) Bairut, says Abul Fidā, 246, "is the port of Damascus." - Theoderich, (71), refers to its port. - Suchem, 135-6, says "From Beyrout a man can return to any country he pleases on this (Suchem's) side of the Mediterranean." - Ibn Batutah, I, 133, saw in Bairūt a small town with fine buildings, excellent bazaars and a mosque." - Poloner, 35, found the harbour of Bairūt "abominable". - But Brocquiere, 292, does not agree with his contemporary when he says, "Baruth (Bairūt) has been more considerable than it is now, but its port is still handsome, deep and safe for vessels." Poloner must have had some bad experience in the place. See details of his visit (35-6).

It is very likely that the peaceful surrender of Sidon saved it the revenge which the more resisting 'Akkā and Tyre suffered.

In the new order of trading and routes which prevailed in Syria after the debacle of the late 7th (13th) century, Sidon resumed its position as one of the outlets of Damascus.(1) 'Akkā, a more natural outlet to the south west of the city, had been destroyed beyond repair; Tyre was no better. Sidon could be reached from Damascus via southern Biqā', and its harbour allowed smaller rafts a shelter.(2) It had, too, its own products of fruits and oil,(3) to offer to the less ambitious merchants.

Gaza certainly enjoyed a great prosperity under the Mamlūks, as it became their spring-board for Syria. Its ancient harbour had lost its value; it was safe from sea-attacks; so the Mamlūks did not even worry about a citadel or walls.(4) But its markets were full, and in times of campaigns the town swarmed with soldiers on their way to Syria.(5) Its fertility added to the attractions it provided to comers.(6)

This brief survey shows that the unindented and uninviting Syrian shores, having had to provide harbours for the ships which called for exchange of trade, offered Lādhiqiyya,

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(1) Zub. (R), 48.
(2) Maund., 142; Brocq., 292.
(3) Ibn Batutah, I, 131-2. Qalq., IV, III; for earlier description Idr. (Jaub), I, 354; Benj., 79.
(4) Abul Fidā, 238, says that Gaza had a small citadel. Probably this was allowed to fall through as Ibn Batutah (I, 113-4) and Brocquiere (289) both refer to it as without either walls or citadel.
(5) Maund., 143; Pogg., 118; Ibn Batutah, I, 113-4; Qalq. IV, 98-9; Brocq., 289.
(6) Abul Fidā, 238.

Tripoli, Bairūt and Sidon. Antioch and Gaza were on the coast but not harbours. They owed their survival, especially Gaza, to being on main roads.

(d) Water, in abundance, and a central position in connection with the local region may explain why Nablus, Jinīn, Ba'lback, as-Ṣalt and 'Ajlūn remained fairly steady during the period under consideration. That those five towns have water resources can be easily ascertained by a visit.

Nablus, situated between two mountains so that it could be easily taken by throwing stones at it from the mountains,(1) connects Sahl Hawara (east) with Tulkarm (west) and Jinīn (north). So it collects whatever produce the locality offers for distribution. It is not on a main route, but its position made it a mart for the district. It did not suffer greatly during the Crusades, and thus it was preserved.(2)

Jinīn, in addition to the fertility of its district, commands the southern entry to Marj Ibn 'Amir. This may help to explain its value. Under the Mamlūks, and especially before the conquest of the coast, Marj Ibn 'Amir was vital for the lines of communication. Jinīn was a center on the barīd route.(3)

Ba'lback was, and still is, the natural center of

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(1) Burc., 53.
(2) See on Nablus; Muq., 174; Daniel, 72; Benj., 81; Abul Fidā, 240; Maund., 181; Such., 122; Pogg., 61; Ibn Batutah, I, 128; Qalq., IV, 103; Zub. (R.), 46.
(3) Sauvaget, Post, 72, 74 cf.

al-Biqā' as routes traversing the plain met there.(1)

An examination of the map of Transjordan reveals that, apart from towns which rose in connection with trade routes and commercial activities, urban centers may exist only in the northern section of the country. 'Ajlūn, which was during the period under discussion the town of the northest parts, held its position because of its water resources, and because it served as a meeting place for the producers of the district. It is easily accessible from the west from Nablus. Its famous castle, ar-Rabad, certainly weighed the scales in its favour.(2)

As-Salt holds a similar position in the central parts of the country. Wādī Shu'aib connects it with the Jordan Valley. But it is mainly as a center for the locality that as-Salt held its own.(3)

While discussing the urban centers which seem to have had continuous existence under the Bahrī Mamlūks, a word about al-Karak may not be out of place. When the Crusaders

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(1) Ba'lback, according to Idrīsī (quoted by Le Strange, Palestine, 296), "...has many crops, luxuriant vegetation, and quantities of fruits; the presses overflow with grapes, and there are trees that give all sorts of edible fruits, so that provisions are cheap." - Benjamin, 91, says, "... which (the city) incloses numerous gardens and orchards." - Abul Fidā, 254, "It possesses trees and streams and springs, and filled with very good things". - Ibn Batutah, I, 185, sang the praises of Ba'lback rather loud. He spoke of its gardens and orchards, which he compared with those of Damascus, and of its dibs (molasses) and sweetmeat called "mulabban." Cloths and wooden spoons came from it too.- 'Umarī, quoted by Qalq., IV, 109, gives a similar account. - Qalq., ib., adds very little, but confirms earlier authority. - Brocquiere, 308, writes "Balback is a good town, well inclosed with walls, and tolerably commercial."

(2) Abul Fidā, 244; Ibn Batutah, I, 129; Qalq., IV, 105-6; Zub. (R.), 46 (a town).

(3) Abul Fidā, 244; Qalq., IV, 106; Zub, (R.), 46.

possessed lands east of the Jordan, they built al-Karak and ash-Shawbak, which they used as strongholds. During this period al-Karak apparently substituted Mu'āb as a centre. With the expulsion of the Latins from the region ash-Shawbak practically lost its value; al-Karak, situated in a more fertile region, retained some importance. The Ayyūbīds looked after the citadel, and so did the Mamlūks, when al-Karak became the capital of a Mamlaka bearing its name, with southern Transjordan as its province.

(e) Two towns owed their continued existence to their sanctity - Jerusalem and Hebron. Jerusalem had no other claim to existence during that period. No main routes passed through it, no trades were practised in it. It had no water to satisfy the needs of its inhabitants. Jerusalem lived because it commanded reverence, and because this brought to it resources that helped its people to live. No travellers that visited Syria during the central period of the Middle Ages escaped from Jerusalem.(1)

Hebron, in addition to being a sacred town, could support its own population on account of the fertility of its soil and its water.(2)

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(1) Ibn Jubair did not visit Jerusalem during the first voyage to the East, but he did so later. His "Travels" were written after the first visit and never re-edited.
(2) Muq., 172-3; Abul Fidā, 240; Such., 91; Ibn Batutah, I, 114.

IV. THE COUNTRYSIDE

Geographers and travellers of the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries were not particularly interested in the countryside and its villages; only casual remarks are made now and then. Muqaddasī refers to eight villages, large ones, as he specifies, in Palestine. Farrāḍiyya (p. 162), Ludd, Kafr Saba, 'Āqir, Yabna, 'Imwās, Kafr Sallām (p. 176-7) and Bethlehem (p. 172).[1] Nasiri-Khisraw passed through Haifa (p. 19), Kafr Sābā and Kafr Sallām (p. 21).[2] Benjamin passed via Qaqūn (p. 81).[3]

Ibn Jubair mentions Bazā'a (p. 249) and Qara (p. 259) as large villages in the north. Burchard of Mt. Zion gives two villages in Palestine, Qaqūn, Ekron, ('Āqir of Muqaddasi). Abul Fidā, restricting his short notes to towns, allows Shawbak (p. 246) and Bārīn (p. 258) a place because he considered them as almost small towns. The Guide to the Holy Land of 1350 considered Darūm (Dayr al-Balaḥ) (p. 32) a large village, and Von Suchem mentions Ramatha (p. 121-2), which is modern Nabi Samwil.

That European pilgrims simply referred, if at all, to a few Palestinian villages is only natural but that geographers should neglect the countryside to this extent is lamentable.

Az-Ẓāhirī, however, was interested in the villages, in as much as they constituted a part of the administrative net-

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(1) cf. Such., 93f.
(2) Nasiri-Khisraw wrongly gives these two places as one.
(3) Theod., 59; Burc., 95.

work. Thus he gives numbers of villages attached to the more important centres of the country. How much more information would have been secured if his Kashf, large book, existed?

From az-Ẓāhirī we have been able to obtain two lists - (I) with definite numbers of villages and (II) with references only usually followed by " عدة قرى " (many villages).

List. (I)

District.	No. of villages	Ref. Page
Safad (the Mamlaka)	1200	44
Nablus	300	46
Ḥusbān	300	46
Ṣarkhad	100	46
Banyās	200	46
Ḥawrān (1)	1000	46
al-Ghutah	300	47
Nurān (2)	160	47
Karak Nūḥ (Wādī Taym)	360	47
Zabadānī	50	47
Suwayda (3)	200	47
Ba'lback	360	47
Sidon	200 (4)	47
Tripoli (the Mamlakah)	3000	48
Total	7730	

(1) Dimashqi gives the Ghuta 90 villages (p. 267). Quoting a message from al-Malik al-Mu'azzam to Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, in 616 A.H., Abū Shāma (Dhayl, 117), speaks of the villages (diyā') of ash-Shām as being 2000 (1,600 owned by their people and 400 for the Sultān - Sulṭāniyya).

(2) To the west of Jisr Banāt Ya'qūb, Hartman, geog. Nachrichten, 56, No. 2. See Badeker, Syrien und Palaestina, 231.

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List (II)

Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ, Buṣra, Biqā, (p. 47), Bairūt, Salamiya, Ma'arrat Nu'mān (p. 48), Aleppo (1) (p. 49), and Antioch (p. 50).

List I covers roughly the parts of the country to the south of a line stretching from the North of Biqā' to Lādhiqiyya. Yet even within this limitation the extreme southern parts of Palestine fade into complete obscurity. List II is not of great help; one cannot easily suggest an average number for each of the eight centers mentioned. Al-A'lāq, gives the number of villages attached to 'Izāz as 300. (1)

Towards the end of the Roman occupation of Syria, Palestine had 422 villages. (2) Now the same part has nearly 1,000. Yet az-Ẓāhirī ascribes to the same stretch of land about 1,700 villages, (Ṣafad, 1200, Nablus, 300, Banyās 200), with no reference to the southern parts. Are we justified in accepting his figures at their face value, remembering, especially, that he wrote after the country had suffered the plights already mentioned ? We do not think so.

Two other figures given by az-Ẓāhiri do not stand scrutiny - 300 for Ḥusban and 100 for Ṣalkhad.

= (3) Not Suwaydiya as in the text, Hartman, ibid., 56, No. 5.
(4) Id, (Jaub), I, 354, assigns 600 villages to Sidon. In 665/1266 a treaty was concluded between the Mamluks and the Latins, in which it was stated that Tyre had 99 villages. Sulūk, I, 559.
(5) Early in the 13th century Halab had over 800 villages which were owned by the people, and over 200 which were shared between people and Sultan (Yāqūt, II, 309). But these villages were in the Mamlaka and not in the district only.

(1) A'lāq., 55b. Yaqūt, II, 304 ff, says that the Mamlaka of Aleppo had 1020 villages.
(2) Map of Roman Palestine (PDA), 1940.

We have given those two remarks just to point out that the numbers given by az-Ẓāhirī could not be taken as reliable. Could az-Ẓāhirī have thought of every hamlet and khirba (ruined site) as a village? His 7730 could be easily scaled down, but we do not propose to venture in this field.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

S Y R I A N T O W N
U N D E R T H E M A M L U K S

I. THE LEGACY OF THE PAST

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOWN

III. FORTIFICATIONS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

IV. WATER SYSTEMS

V. THE POPULATION

I. THE LEGACY OF THE PAST

1. Period of Anarchy.

The 5th (11th) century represents in the history of Syria a period of chaos and chronic feuds. The Saljūks were the virtual rulers,(1) as Syria had been a part of the Caliphate previous to their coming in. But the Sultans could not attend to Syria in person, while they had their own troubles in the East. Besides, the Fatimīds were still in possession of the southern and coastal parts of the country.(2) The plight of

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(1) The Saljūks began conquering Syria in the middle of the 5th (11th) century when Alp-Arslān captured Aleppo in 463/1070 (Qalanisī, 99. On the details of the campaign see Al-Azraqī, quoted by Amedroz in his edition of Qalanisī, p.99 n.1).
In 468/1075 Atsiz wrested Damascus from the Fatimids (ib.108). Thus the two main cities of Syria became part of the Seljuk Sultanate.

(2) The private war waged during this period caused the people enormous losses in life and wealth. The pages of Al-Qalānisī (esp. in connection with period see pp.71-133). It is not our intention to discuss the matter now but it is not out of place to refer to cases where the disaster was serious:
(a) In 452/1060, after the defeat of Nāsir ad-Dawlah at the battle of Funaydiq, Aleppo was looted (Qala., 90).
(b) In 458/1066 the Palace of Damascus was burnt, along with some more buildings (ib.,93. on p.97 Sibt ibn al-Jawzī is quoted fully by the editor - see note.)
(c) When in 461/1068 Ibn Manzū was appointed for the second time as governor of Damascus a sedition took place which ended with the burning of the Mosque of Umayyah, (ib., 96.)
(d) In 462/1070 Atsiz laid seige to Damascus and in order to effect its surrender he scorched the suburbs, (ib. 99).
(e) In 468/1075 Atsiz eventually occupied Damascus, and his troops spared neither people nor town. (ib., 108).
(f) When Atsiz occupied Jerusalem and Gaza in 469/1076, the people suffered murder and looting, (ib. III note).
Sibt ibn al-Jawzī, quoted by Qalānisī's editor, p.III, says that the population of Damascus decreased from 500,000 to only 3000 people.
(g) The wāli of Tyre, Īl-Kutayla, revolted against Egypt and an Army was sent against him in 490/1097. It was captured: many people were killed and the army looted the town, (Qala., 133-4.)

Syria during this period came not only from the inevitable rivalry over Syria between the Sunnī and Shī'ī States, but from the local princes, who, taking the opportunity of the weakness of the Central authorities in Baghdād and Cairo, established themselves in various parts of the Land. Not only Arab princes and chiefs, like Banū Tayy[1] in Transjordan, Banū 'Ammār[2] in Tripoli, Banū Jarrāḥ[3] in Gazza and Ramla, Banū Munqidh[4] in Shayzar, Banū Mirdās[5] in Aleppo, Ibn Mulā'ib[6] in Ḥimṣ, Ibn Abī 'Aqīl[7] in Tyre; but there were

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(1) Qala.,23.Gibb, in his introduction to the Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades,p.17, sums up the position of Banū Tayy by saying "which was a perpetual thorn in their (the Fatimids') side in Palestine".

(2) Ḥasan ibn 'Ammār, the qāḍī of Tripoli, revolted against Egypt in 462/1070 (Qala., 97, where Sibt is quoted). It remained in the family till the time of the Crusaders (ib.,160 ff. where a full account of the events of the period is to be found.)

(3) Qalanisi, 22, 25, 72f.(See also index.)

(4) Amīr 'Alī b. al-Muqallid b. Munqidh bought Shayzar from its Bishop in 474, (Qalānisī,113. See also ib.n.1 where Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī had preserved a letter of 'Amīr 'Alī describing how he succeeded in getting Shayzar.)

(5) The house of Mirdās, as leaders of Banū Kilāb, succeeded in capturing Aleppo in 452/1060 (Qala.,90). The 'Uqailids wrested Aleppo in 472/1079 (ib., 113). They expanded to Mausil and it was the Saljūk expansion that brought them to an end.

(6) Ibn Mulā'ib established himself originally in Ḥimṣ in 475/1082, (Qala.,115,116). After being ejected (483/1090) from the neighbourhood (ib., 120) and spending some time in prison at Isfahan,(ib.,132) he was restored in /1096 to Afāmiya by the Fatimids (ib.,). He was assassinated by a Bāṭinī in 499/1105 (ib., 149).

(7) In 462/1070 the qāḍī of Tyre, Ibn Abī 'Aqīl occupied the city and declared independence (Sibṭ, in Qala., 97 note). His sons lost again to the Fatimids in 482/1089 (Qala., 120.)

Turks who made themselves masters of one part or another, either for themselves or on behalf of the Saljuks, such as Atsiz, Sulaymān, Āq-Sunqur, Ortuq, Īl-Ghāzī and Sukmān.(1)

This state of affairs led to many disastrous results. Externally it allowed the Crusaders to occupy the country with hardly any opposition. This began with the capture of Antioch in 491/1098 and ended, within a few decades, in the occupation of the coastal parts of Syria, with extensions to Edessa and Transjordan.

Internally the country suffered a period of anarchy and chronic insecurity.(2) Town life which developed in these circumstances, was stamped with constant fear of danger, and towns show, in their fortifications and plans, this state of affairs.(3)

How did the "towns" fare then during this period ? They still had their walls, especially towns which were capitals of princes or governors, whether before or after the Saljūks.

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(1) Atsiz, a leader of the Ghuzz, who in 462/1070 laid seige to Damascus (Qalā.,99) and later occupied it in 468/1075 (ib.,108). Sulaymān, son of Quṭulmish, invaded northern Syria, captured Antioch in 477/1084 (Qalā.,117) but failed to take Aleppo (ib.118). In 479/1086 Sulaymān was killed in a conflict between himself and Tutush, ibn Alp-Arslān (ib.,118-9). Tutush then occupied Aleppo and Ḥims in 483/1090 (ib.120). The intervention of Malik-Shāh brought Aleppo eventually under Āq-Sunqur, his Atabek in 480/1087, (ib.,119) and that was the beginning of the rule of the Atabeks.

Ortuq was a Turkman Officer appointed by Tutush to the governorship of Jerusalem, and his son Īl-Ghāzī, succeeded him. Īl-Ghāzī and his brothers, especially Sukmān, took part in the struggle between Riḍwān and Duqāq, son of Tutush, (ib.,132 ff.). An Ortuqūd dynasty was founded in Ḥiṣn Kayfa, early in the 6th (12th) century (ib.,173-7 and note on pp.175-6).

(2) The pages of Qalānisī, esp. 69-152, leave us with no doubt as to the anarchy and insecurity of this period.

(3) These are based on the conclusions of Sauvaget. See Esquisse, pp.450-7.

The towns had, too, their great (jāmi') mosques and their sūqs (markets). These three elements were factors of unity in the town. But otherwise the town was a group of disconnected individual units of harāt (quarters), which were based on religious, professional or ethnic grounds.

What was the ḥārs which developed within the town during this period ? Sauvaget's conclusion of the characteristics of the Damascus ḥārāt is that "The city (Damascus) appeared as a collection of independent quarters (ḥārāt), each having its own peculiar life, separate from that of its neighbour. Each of those ḥārāt was a miniature town with its mosque, its system for the distribution of water, its baths, its market which contained its needs ... The houses of the ḥārah could be reached only through its main entrance, gate of which could be locked at night."(1)

The governor of a city or a province, whether appointed by a legal authority, such as the caliph, or a usurper, had to see that his 'asker (or ajnād) lived in the city to protect him. His position was never secure, so he oppressed the people in order to obtain as much gold as he could for his future needs. His delegates in the city, such as Shihna (military governor) attended to the collection of taxes.(2) Others were probably as heavy on the people as the governor himself was.

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(1) Sauvaget, Esquisse 452-3. For the formation of similar quarters at Aleppo, see his work.Alep.107-8.

(2) Cahen, 194, n.42.

In all cases the population of the city suffered. What means of protection did they have ? The Law of the Quran, which insisted on justice and equality. But if ever the injunctions of the Holy Book were disregarded in Arab history, it was mostly during this period. Thus this protection was illusory.(1) Besides how could the people go to the Caliph or Sultan to present their cases ? Such a thing was not only difficult; it was nearly impossible.

Thus the population had to resort to self-defence. The "ahdāth" (youth) of the town organized themselves for this defence.(2) It took the shape of "corporational" movement. Each hārah in Damascus, for example, had its own group of "ahdāth", with their shaikh (head) who was responsible for their discipline. When the general welfare of the city was at stake the ahdāth went into common action.(3) Thus the corporations had two aspects: The one was for their own members, who were protected from competition and probably, against the governors oppression.(4) This was a civil and professional aspect of the corporation. The other was the military one, where the members, as ahdāth, constituted themselves into a "national guard" for their city.

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(1) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 452.

(2) Ahdāth were organized for local defence, that is, of their hara or chief. See Qalanisi,307, when Mu'ayyid ad-Dīn suspected Mujir ad-Dīn in 543, how the former collected al-Ahdāth with others for self-defence. In Aleppo the Ahdāth took it on them to force their will on the governor (wālī) and to bring in Nusrat ad-Dīn, in the year 552/1157 , (ib. 349).

(3) Qalānisī (213) enumerates places from which came to defend Damascus in 519 - they came from as far as Hims and the Batinī fortresses. See also Sauvaget, Esquisse, 452.

(4) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 452, considers this corporation movement as a revival of Romano-Byzantine tradition. However for a fuller discussion see infra C.VI , S. V.

During this period of anarchy, and especially in the latter part, we notice the frequent use of the word "raīs" or "rayyis" (chief) for people who seem to have run villages or towns, as well as corporations and religious communities. In the chaos of the period, and due to the carelessness of the governor, the raīs, whose roll originally was an administrative one of the lowest order, promptly assumed local authority and became the real head of the local administration. There were no legal objections, and circumstances favoured this step. In many cases the post became hereditary, such as Banū es-Suleiha of Jabala and Banū as-Sūfī in Damascus.(1) When however the raīs of the city was at the same time the muqaddam (head) of the Aḥdāth,(2) his authority in the town became complete. He then represented the interests of the town, defended it against external danger, and mediated, supported by power, between the governor, who often shut himself in his citadel, and the corporations or the people.(3)

Could a city, under the circumstances, constitute a unity ? Damascus, for example, "ceased to be an independent personality, or an active living organism". It became a collection of individuals, with contradicting interests, each of whom attended to

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(1) Jāmi' al-Bustān, IFD, VII, VIII (1937-8), 124. In some cases the title qādī was used instead of ra'īs. Cahen, Syrie, 194, notes that the coastal towns used qādī (Tyre, Tripoli, Jabla) while Damascus had ra'īs, Aleppo wavering between the two. On Banū Sufī and their disputes in Damascus, see Abū Shama, Rawdatayn, I, 90 ff.

(2) Durr, 35; Durar al-Kamineh, II, 75, on al-Qalanisī.

(3) If we trust the information given to us by Nasir-i-Khusrau, we may assume that Ma'arra had some similar state of affairs in the middle of the 5th (11th) century. See PPT, IV, 3-5.

his own benefits within his private zone, utilizing all circumstances for his private ends, irrespective of the interests of his neighbours.[1] Aleppo lost the essential characteristic which constituted the personality of a city - its "moral unity".[2] Tripoli[3] under Banū ʿAmmār and Tyre under Banū Abī 'Aqīl could not have differed considerably. Jerusalem[4] underwent a similar development, and could not have suffered less.

It is interesting to note, though, that the city which was so socially and politically rent, was economically, very active. The pages of al-Muqaddisi, of the middle 4th (10th) century leave no doubt as to this. In the middle of the 5th (11th) century Nasir-i-Khisraw visited Syria. His information as to the activity of industries and commerce are startling, if one remembered the political conditions of the times. European pilgrims, confining themselves to the Holy Land, almost unanimously give similar information of the industrial and commercial prosperity of the towns.[5] Meanwhile the countryside must have suffered heavily from wars, disputes and oppressions.

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(1) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 456.

(2) Sauvaget, Alep, 108.

(3) M.KHUS. 6-8; EI art Tarābulus.

(4) Mujīr ad-Dīn, II, 401-5.

(5) See Muq., 156-60, 160, 162, 180-1; Khusrau, 2,3,5 and 8, 11, 21-2, 61; Daniel, 53, 55, 72;

2. Zankīs and Ayyūbīds

Early in the 6th (12th) century the Atābeks restored some law and order into the country. The Ayyūbīds carried the process a little further. Thanks to the impact of the Crusaders in this century, the rulers of northern and central Syria took matters seriously. Aleppo and Damascus, as capitals of the Atabeks and Ayyūbīds received especial attention, but when a variety of small kingdoms appeared in Ḥamā (1) and Ḥimṣ, such towns were cared for too.

The interests of the rulers were directed towards fortifications; city walls and citadels. The citadel of Damascus was strengthened and enlarged so that it became not only a last place of defence for a besieged garrison, but it included the Sultan's residence, the centre of administration, stores of ammunitions, the mint and the prison. Besides it had its own jāmi' mosque, its baths and its suqs. (2)

The citadel of Aleppo received a tower and an arsenal from Tughtakīn, various fortifications from Saladin and al-'Ādil, and a large water-reservoir and stores from al-Ghāzī. (3)

Aleppo had its walls strengthened in the 6th (12th) century by Zankī, Nūr ad Dīn and Ghāzī. (4)

Another matter which received the attention of the Ayyūbīds was the foundation of schools. If walls and citadels were essential for fighting the Crusaders, schools were an important

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(1) Qalq., IV, 140.

(2) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 458-9; Der Islam, XII (1922) 1ff. See on the repairs of the qal'a, Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 32-3.

(3) Durr, 50.

(4) Durr, 33; Sauvaget, Alep, 116-7. For Hama, Abul-Fida, 263; Hims, Req. IX, 214, Harim, Durr, 165-6; Tell-Bashir, Durr, 169.

instrument in combating the shī'a movement, which had been gaining substantial ground in Syria. Schools were founded by the Sultans and amirs, and rich people were encouraged to found schools and leave awqaf (endowment) for their maintenance. Ibn Jubair tells us that Damascus had 20 schools, when he visited it, late in the 6th (12th) century.[1] Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ had their own schools.[2] When Saladin conquered Jerusalem in 583/1187, one of his first acts was the foundation of a school.[3] The importance of the school becomes more important in the following period, and we shall leave this for its proper place in this work.[4]

Social institutions too found their beginning now, such as the bimaristan, the ribāṭ and the khanqā, but these are matters which will be discussed later.[5]

But the internal development of the city did not change much during this period. Damascus, the largest Syrian city then, developed on the lines indicated in the previous period. The population undoubtedly felt more secure, under Nūr ad-Dīn and Saladin, but the growth of "quarters", with their religious or professional affinities, had become an established fact, in the organization of the city.[6]

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(1) Ibn Jubair, 283.

(2) Ib., 256-7, 258.

(3) Sulūk, I. 97.

(4) See infra C.VI,

(5) Infra C VI.X.

(6) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 459-60.

One aspect of the city life must have received the special attention of the Ayyūbīds, namely, the corporations. As they were, more or less, a channel through which the suppressed populace voiced their grievances through adopting Shi'ism (Ismailism)[1], they could not have escaped the notice of the vigilant rulers. Schools were used to propagate Sunna and refute heterodoxy. But corporations could not be fought through schools. Complete government suppression would have given the corporation more impetus. Thus they, and their members, had better be watched carefully. We are inclined to believe that the revival of the office of muhtasib then was the official method followed for this end.[2]

It is no wonder that the economic activities of the towns should increase with the restoration of order to the country. Damascus flourished, both commercially and industrially.[3] Aleppo shared a similar fate.[4] Other towns did not lag behind, in proportion to their abilities. Testimonies of travellers are abundant, especially those of Ibn Jubair and Benjamin of Tudela. Generally speaking the towns enjoyed a very active life in the economic sphere.[5] The fact that the Latins were in possession of the coast and that towns there were imporia for European traders gave impetus to trade during the period.[6]

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(1) B. Lewis, Islamic Guilds, pass.

(2) On the revival of muhtasib during this period 1E, art sinf; see also infra C IV., SS. VII & VIII.

(3) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 458, 9.

(4) Sauvaget, Alep, 165f. See Idrisi (J.),I, 352-3, 358; II, 131.

(5) See Ibn Jubair, 283f, 250-5; Benjamin, 90; Theoderich, 71.

(6) Mirat az-Zamān,400,474; Sauvaget, Esquisse, 459-60; Uqayba had its own cemetry built by Fayrūz (Qala.,254).The suburb suffered a flood in 530 (ib.256). Shaghūr was in existence late in the 4th (10th) century (Qala.,26).Ahdath of Shaghūr joined others to defend Damascus in 519 (ib.,213). See also ib.,307.

There seems to have been an influx of population to the towns during the period of the Ayyūbīds. It is true that new elements had already entered the country from the East with the Turkmen and Turks. But the towns now attracted people from the countryside. As living space within the walls was limited, people ventured to live outside them, encouraged by the protection of the strong government. Two suburbs of Damascus which, although in existence previously, grew so large that each had to have its jāmi' (mosque) for its people - they were 'Uqayba and Shaghūr.(1) The 6th (12th) century saw the birth of a new quarter of Damascus, aṣ-Ṣāliḥiyya, which was founded by al-Maqādisa, Banu Qudāma.(2) Aleppo had many quarters outside the walls.(3) Hama was two towns.(4)

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(1) Mirat az-Zamān,400,474; Sauvaget, Esquisse, 459-60; Uqayba had its own cemetry built by Fayrūz (Qala.,254).The suburb suffered flood in 530 (ib.256). Shaghūr was in existence late in the 4th (10th) century (Qala.,26).Ahdath of Shaghūr joined others to defend Damascus in 519 (ib.,213). See also ib.,307.

(2) Durr, 242,hāras of Bāb an-Nasr, and Qal'at ash-Sharīf.

(3) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 48, 71.

(4) Ibn Jubair, 255f.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOWN

During the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries Syria witnessed more law and order, especially after the Mamlūks took over. With the expulsion of the Crusaders one serious danger was eliminated. The two sources of threat to Syria were now outside the country, namely the Mongols and a possible European attack.

The Ayyūbīds and the Mamlūks were spiritual heirs of the Saljūks and Zankīs in their strict observation and propagation of Sunna.

How were "towns" effected with these circumstances ?

The coastal towns, targets of a possible European attack, were destroyed or had their harbours blocked,(1) except a few, like Sidon, Bairūt, Tripoli and Lādhiqiyya. Those were considered necessary for the carrying out of commercial activities. These towns were fortified and their harbours were looked after.(2)

In order to guard the country against the Mongols, towns in eastern and northern Syria were fortified. Here the expeditions the Mamlūks led against Armenia, added to the strategic value of such fortifications.

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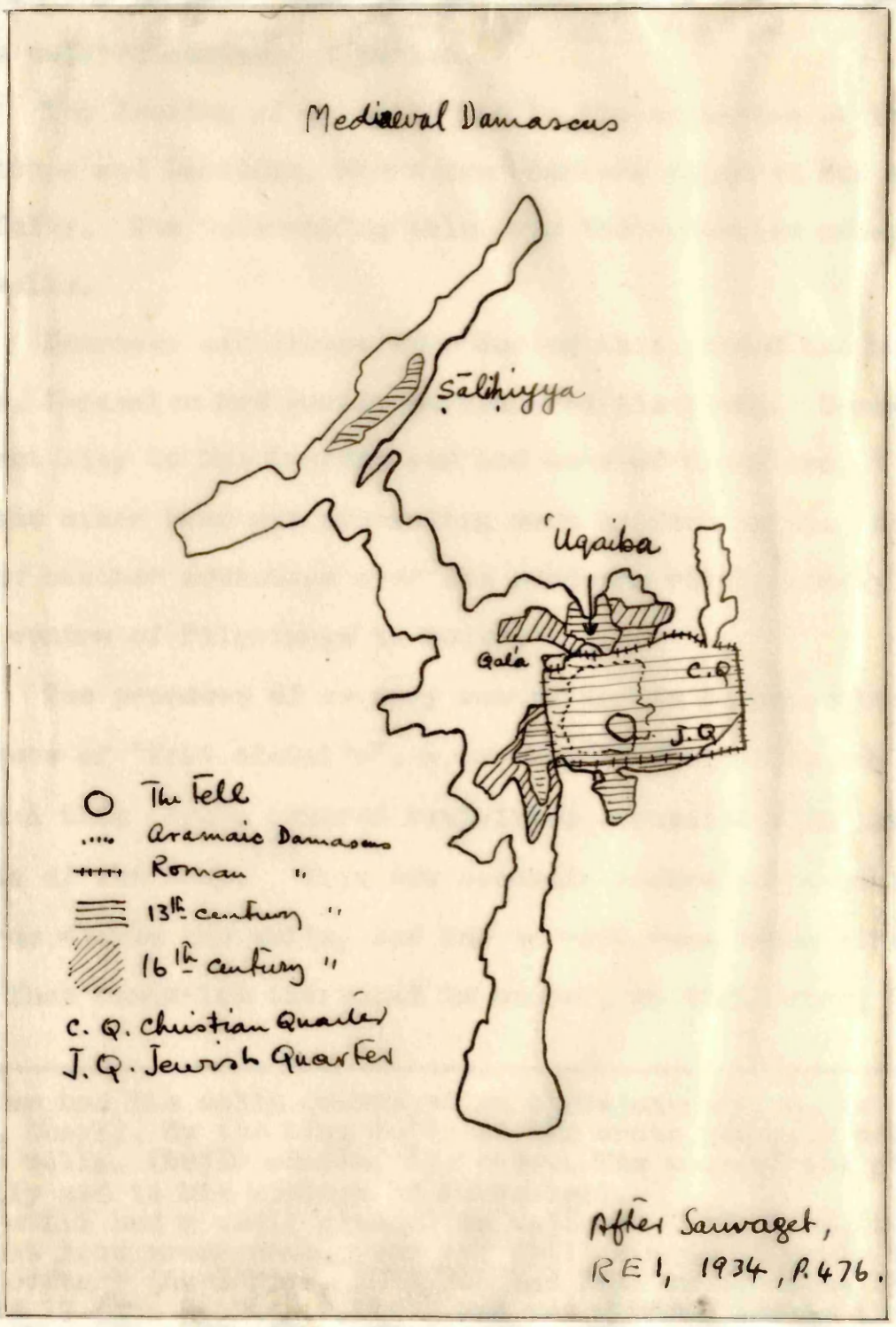
(1) See supra: Tyre, p.90.
Caesarea, p.90.
'Akkā, p.90.
'Asqalān, p.92.
Jaffa, p.102.
Arwād, p.103.

(2) See supra: Lādhiqiyya, p.119.
Tripoli, p.120.
Bairūt, p.121.
Sidon, p.122.


Mediaeval Damascus
Ṣāliḥiyya
'Uqaiba
Qalá
C.Q
J.Q
The Tell
Aramaic Damascus
Roman "
13th century "
16th century "
C. Q. Christian Quarter
J. Q. Jewish Quarter
After Sauvaget,
REI, 1934, P.476.

Jerusalem, Hebron and Gazā, were not fortified.(1)

The Sunnī spirit of the Mamlūks manifested itself especially in the numerous schools, zawiyas, ribats and khanqat, which Syria enjoyed during the period.(2)

The feeling of security led to the expansion of the "cities" Aleppo and Damascus, where new quarters appeared and others developed fully. The interesting thing was the expansion outside the city walls.

Damascus and Aleppo were during this period the two real cities, Jerusalem had partly surrendered its claim. Damascus was the first city to the Mamlūks and had more of their men, Aleppo on the other hand was attracting more traders to it. Yet Damascus had another advantage over its northern rival, namely that it was the centre of Pilgrimage to Mecca.

The presence of so many men of war in Damascus led to the appearance of "Taḥt al-Qal'a", a new Maydān containing sūq al-Khayl. Round this maydān centred activities connected with the requirements of the army.(3) This new economic centre relieved the older centres within the walls, and led to more room being given to factories. Thus tanneries increased in number, so that paper

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(1) Jerusalem had its walls destroyed by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, in (Abū Shāma, Dhayl). By the time Mujīr ad-Dīn wrote the city had ceased to have any walls. (Mujīr ad-Dīn, II, 405-6. The tone of the author is exceptionally sad in his epitaph of Jerusalem).
Hebron still had a small citadel in Mujīr ad-Dīn's time,(ib.,426), but could not have meant much. Gaza had still a citadel early in the 8th (14th) century (Abul Fidā, 238),but had lost by the time Ibn Batuta visited it (Ibn Baṭūṭa, I,113), and was without one in the 9th (15th) century when Brocquiere visited it (Brocq., 289).

(2) See infra c.VI, S

(3) See Masālik, quoted by G- D., 45.

factories shifted to another locality.[1]

A similar development could be traced in Aleppo where another Maydān Taḥt-al Qal'a appeared, with a sūq al-Khayl,[2] while trades needed by the armies finding room in it.

The two cities expanded outside the walls much more than they had experienced so far. Two factors led to this - one was the influx of new people into the cities because of the need for men to do the new works.[3] Secondly the richer people wanted to live in more pleasant parts than the inner quarters could provide them.

The result of all this was that new quarters appeared or old ones grew far beyond their original ambitions. The new quarters were influenced by the routes that led out of the city and into it. In Damascus one such residential quarter was as-Suwayqa (small sūq), which was in the south-west on the road leading towards Egypt, and the other was "Swayqat Sārūjā", in the north of the town. This was inhabited mainly by army people.[4] Aleppo too had a similar experience. Two new quarters grew in the north, on the road to Killiz and Mara'sh, with large khāns, and another, Banqūsa, in the north-east on the route to Diyārbakr. The nomads had a quarter in the south of the city.[5]

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(1) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 466. See also map III.

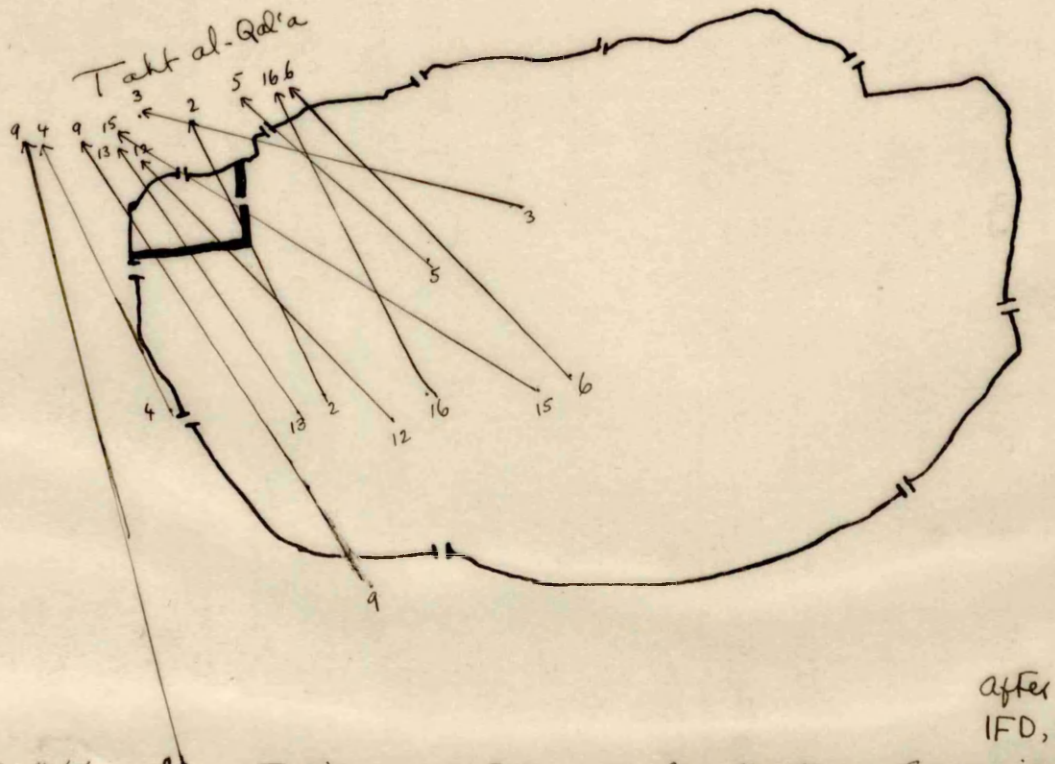
(2) Durr, 57, 73; Sauvaget, Alep, 169.

(3) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 466.

(4) Ib.

(5) Sauvaget, Alep, 173-6.

shift of Sūqs in Damascus
in the 13th & 14th centuries



after Sauvaget,
IFD, II (1932), 39.

1- Dār al-Biṭṭīkh 2. Textiles 3. Furs 4. Merchants 5. Coppersmiths
6. Manufacturers of weapons 9. Sheep and cattle 12. Saddlers 13. Carpenters 15. Vegetables 16. Blacksmiths

As-Salihiyya may be taken as an example to show how an old suburb developed during the period. Founded in the middle of the 6th (12th) century, it grew into great dimensions. In 598/1200 a Jāmi' Mosque was built.(1) Sayf ad-Dīn al-Qayrawānī, who died in 654/1256, built a bimaristān in as-Salihiyya.(2) Al-Irbilli (d.726/1325) mentions five dūr hadīth and one ribāt.(3) Ibn Abd al-Hādi, early in the 10th (16th) century gives the names of thirty eight mahallas (small hāras) included in as-Sālihiyya.(4) Ar-Ramada outside Aleppo, "was as big as a town."(5)

These quarters, however, were not mere extensions and expansions of the city. They were almost new towns only physically lying within the immediate proximity of the city. The new Jāmi's Mosques, which existed in suburbs of Aleppo, must have helped to create a sort of hara (quarters) social conciousness.(6)

Another development which characterises the period in the big towns, and not only in Damascus and Aleppo, alone, was the numerous large buildings, grand mausoleums and magnificent mosques which the Mamluk amirs and their rich subjects erected.(7) Damascus

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(1) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 29. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 32,136.

(2) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 194. Yāqūt, III, 363, described it as a "big village".

(3) Irbillī, 15, 16.

(4) Thimār, 145-158.

(5) Yāqūt, II, 813.

(6) Sauvaget, Alep, 183, considers such new quarters to have had their own personalities. He goes to say that "the city (Aleppo) was decentralized in its economic, social and moral life", (ib.184-5).

(7) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 467.

and Aleppo had more of them, but Tripoli,[1] Ḥamā[2] and Jerusalem received some attention.

During this period people seemed to have enjoyed recreation spots.

Damascus was favoured by nature in having numerous and vast orchards surrounding it. This provided its people with unlimited space for their enjoyments. Its Ghuta,[3] Rabwa,[4] Jabba,[5] Wādī al-Banafsaj,[6] Bayn an-Nahrayn,[7] Qatya,[8] and al-Yalaki[9] are amongst the most attractive places.

Bayn an-Nahrayn, for example, had shops for cooked food, sweets, a bath and two sheds for people. On the opposite side it had a zāwiya where on Tuesdays and Saturdays religious practices were held.[10] Apparently people sometimes spent the night in such places, so we learn that people were provided with mattresses and covers.

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(1) Durr, 232-3, describes the mosque of Āshiq tamur as one of the finest built during the period. New mausoleums built after the time of Ibn Shaddād are given on p.235ff. On large houses, 28 in number, see pp.242-4.

(2) Masalik in Durr, 263 and in G-D., 112.

(3) Qalq., IV, 92; Badrī, 255, 356, 367;

(4) Qalq., IV, 92; Zub., 45.

(5) Zub., 45; Hart., 50; Badrī, 78.

(6) Id., (Jan.).

(7) Badrī., 65.

(8) Ib., 79.

(9) Ib., 274. Cf. Ibn as-Sa'ātī, Diwan, II, 81, 133-4, 168.

(10) Badrī, 65.

(11) Ib., 78.

Aleppo, although not so richly endowed by nature, had its own places of amusement. Some were used only on occasions of feasts and festivals, such as Bāb al-Maqām, when various sorts of fun were enjoyed.(1) Others were used daily by people. Of these Ibn Ash-Shihna mentions more than thirty.(2)

Hamā, according to az-Zāhirī had many mufarajāt (places of joy).(3)

Beirūt certainly made use of its famous woods of pine trees which extended some twelve miles.(4)

The various monasteries which were within easy reach of the towns must have attracted many of the people to them. Dayr Sidnāya, Dayr Yūhanna, Dayr ar-Rusāfa, Dayr al-Qarūs, Dayr Mimās and Dayr Sim'ān are only a few examples.(5)

What was the nature of amusements of which people partook in these places ? Generally speaking they were the ordinary picnics approved by the moral standards of the age.(6) Those who sought other interests, such as gambling and drinking betook themselves to more secluded places.(7)

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(1) Durr, 255.

(2) Durr, 255-7

(3) Zub., 49.

(4) Sālih,34;Lammens,Mash.,I (1898),940, citing al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat; A fifteenth century traveller gave it an area of two sq.metrs.(ib).

(5) Masalik (z), 336 ff. Zayat, Dayyarat, 59ff; based mainly on Shabushtī.

(6) Badrī, 274, 322-3

(7) See Zayat, Dur al-Qimar.Mash., XXXVI (1938), 174; Ib.; Dayyarāt, 62-9; Masālik (z), 398; Sulūk, I, 273; Durrat al-Aslāk, 19b; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 10.

People had their own private parties, where singers were engaged,[1] but they had to be careful not to disturb neighbours who would report them to the police and thus cause them endless troubles.[2]

But the internal organization of the town seems to have remained much the same. Ḥāras were then, as they had been before, often based on religious and ethnic groupings.[3] Thus Christians in Aleppo,[4] Jerusalem[5] and Hebron had their own ḥāras. Jews had their own wherever they existed, such as in Damascus[6] and Aleppo.[7] Mashāriqa, Turkmān[8] and Akrād apparently separated themselves in Aleppo.

What was the position of the people of the towns then ? We are inclined to believe that they were under very strict state control.[9]

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(1) Ussybi's, II, 149.

(2) Ib., 150

(3) Sauvaget, Alep, 179-81; Esquisse, 460.

(4) Mujīr, II, 402.

(5) Ib., 425.

(6) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 460.

(7) Sauvaget, Alep, 163.

(8) Durr, 73, 241, 242.

(9) See infra C. IV, on the town administration.

III. FORTIFICATIONS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

(1) Fortifications

Aleppo had its citadel fortified in the times of az-Zāhir Ghāzī the Ayyūbid,[1] in 611/1214, but it was destroyed by the Mongols in the middle of the century. In 690/1291 Qara-Sunqur repaired it in parts,[2] but it was al-Ashraf Khalīl who restored it in 701/1301.[3] During the 8th (14th) century the citadel received very little care till towards the end of the century when Barqūq attended to it in 786/1384.[4] After Timur's destruction of the citadel it was not rebuilt till the time of an-Nāsir Faraj.[5]

The walls of the city were cared for on various occasions: in 592/1196 under az-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, who built parts of the walls and strengthened the towers;[6] shortly after 620 Shihāb ad-Dīn Toghrul built a strong tower on the north;[7] in 642/1244 Salāh ad-Dīn (II) repaired the towers and built new ones, so that altogether there were more than 20 towers.[8] After the Mongols' invasion in the

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(1) Durr, 50-51

(2) See inscription from the citadel, cited by Tabbākh, III, 519.

(3) Durr, 57. See also inscription cited by Tabbākh, ib.

(4) Tabbākh, ib., inscription cited. See ib., 521 where an inscription to the effect of bringing water to the citadel in 767/1365.

(5) Durr, 57.

(6) Ib., 33.

(7) Ib. 35.

(8) Ib., 36. The walls of Aleppo had 128 towers.

7th (13th) century, the walls were repaired again in 663/1264[1] Ghazān's in vasion caused the walls some harm, and they seem to have been neglected till 792/1389 when they were repaired.[2] Again after Timur's destruction of the walls they were left till al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh rebuilt them in parts in 821/1418, attending to the w rk in person.[3] Barsbay completed this work in 831/1427.[4]

The archaeological remains show that Aleppo had strong and impressive walls.[5]

Yaqūt,[6] his epitome Marāṣid[7] and Abul Fidā,[8] with nearly a century between the first and the last, refer with emphasis to the fortifications of Ḥamā. But Ḥamā gradually lost its military value and was neglected, so that Qalqashandī,[9] writing shortly after Timur's invasion, said that it had no citadel. Ibn ash-Shihna says of its citadel that "it had been in ruins for sometime".[10]

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(1) Ib., 37. the date is not quite clear. The editor of Durr suspects 693/1293. See ib., n. 1.

(2) Rawdah al-Manāzir, on the margin of p.187 of vol.XII, of Ibn al-Athir (Cairo 1303).

(3) Durr, 37.

(4) Ib., 38.

(5) Sauvaget,Alep, 166-9. See also Nujum, VII, 32ff; EI art. Halab.

(6) II, 332.

(7) I, 318.

(8) 263.

(9) Qalq., IV, 238.

(10) Durr, 269.

Hims received its post-Mongol fortifications in 659/1260,[1] was still in possession of a citadel c. 700/1300,[2] and was enclosed within walls in the early years of the 9th (15th) century.[3]

To the Mamlūks, Damascus was the most important city in Syria, and, with Aleppo, had a special "nāyib of the citadel," who was responsible directly to the Sultan. That the citadel of Damascus was repaired three times in one century is no wonder. In 659/1260,[4] in 673/1274[5] and in 680/1281,[6] it received important fortifications. In the middle of the 8th (14th) century the city was fortified.[7] When Tamerlane besieged Damascus, the citadel was very strong.[8]

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(1) Sulūk, I, 446.

(2) Marāṣid, I, 329.

(3) Brocq., 318. Timur left Hims unmolested. See Ajāyib, 96, where the author says that Timur gave it to the memory of Khālid ibn al-Walīd.

(4) Dhayl Mir'āt az-Zamān (MS), 4a; Sulūk I, 446. Maqrizi's statement runs as follows, "and he ordered (the Sultan) that the citadels of ash-Shām which were destroyed by the Mongols, should be rebuilt: these were the citadels of Damascus, as-Salt, Ajlūn, Sarkhad, Busra, Ba'lback, Shayzar, Subayba, Shumaymīsh, and Hims. They were all repaired; moats cleared, towers enlarged and filled with ammunitions, mamlūks and ajnād, and provisions were stored." Before that occasion Damascus had been of interest to the Ayyūbīds. In 599/1202 the strengthening of the citadel was begun (Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 33). In 611/1214 it was found necessary to enlarge the citadel at the expense of a bath and waqf of dār al-Hadīth an-Nuriyya (ib., 87). The moat was again widened in 613/1215 (ib. 92).

(5) Raq., XII, Nos. 4690, 4692, 4738.

(6) Ib., No. 4796.

(7) Masālik in G-D.,45; Badrī, 60. See Sobernheim der Islam, XII (1922), 1-28, where he has published Arabic inscriptions from the citadel of Damascus, from the Ayyūbīd and Mamlūk periods. It becomes clear, from reading the latter part of these inscriptions, how strong the fortifications were.

(8) Badrī, 61.

On the coast Tripoli and Bairūt received attention to their fortifications.

The new Tripoli, begun in 666/1267 in place of the older city which was destroyed, soon grew.[1] A citadel existed as late as the 9th (15th) century.[2]

Bairūt, a target for Europeans, was cared for by Umarā al-Gharb.[3] Even in the 9th (15th) century Bairūt had strong walls and a formidable citadel.[4]

We are fortunate to be in possession of some interesting information as to the citadels of Aleppo and Damascus. The former seems to have reached a very high point of extent and importance, previous to the Mongol invasion of the 7th (13th) century. Between C.600/1200 and 658/1260 it received so many additions that it must have been not only impressive, but surely extensive. It contained an arsenal, a water-reservoir, store-rooms and army barracks.[5] In 616/1218 the moat was widened and deepened, and caves for the captives and apparently Dar al-'izz was built.[6] Another step to enlarge the citadel included more houses, halls, baths, a large garden, and places for the scribes.[7]

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(1) Masālik in Durr, 263.

(2) Durr, 264.

(3) Cheikho, Mash., XXIII (1925), 947, citing Sālih.

(4) du Boisson, Syria, II (1921), 233-57, where a full account of the fortifications of Bairut in the Middle Ages is given.

(5) Durr, 50.

(6) Ib., 51-2.

(7) Ib., 53.

Al-'Azīz, in 628/1230, built another hall which was 30 x 30 cubits (dhirā') in size.[1]

A description of the citadel of Damascus has come down to us from al-Badrī, 9th (15th) century, who says[2] "The citadel (of Damascus) is like a town ... It has a Mosque and a khutba like the city ... In it there are a bath, a mill and some shops. The mint is there. Houses and store-rooms exist in it too. It (Fārima) has no equal on the face of the earth ... Timur failed to destroy it completely ... The citadel has its water reservoirs and its dreinage system. So in times of siege the people of the citadel would not suffer need."

(2) Public Buildings

Next comes a group of buildings which each city possessed - namely the Great Mosque, dār al-'Adl and dār al-Wālī.[3] Usually one jāmi' mosque sufficed, but when cities grew in dimensions, other jāmi' mosques were built. Thus although the Umayyad Mosque remained by far the mosque par excellence of Damascus, as-Salihiyya had its own jāmi',[4] while the citadel had another.[5]

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(1) Ib., 54. After Tamerlane's invasion there was a new interest in the citadel, and probably it saw some bright days, but that is outside our scope.

(2) Badrī, 60-1.

(3) Here more emphasis is given to the state-functions of the mosque than to its religious or social functions.

(4) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 29; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 32, 136.

(5) Badrī, 60.

Aleppo had started with one jāmi', like all other towns,[1] but later it had more than twenty jāmi' mosques.[2]

Tripoli, Beirūt, Lādhiqiyya, Gaza and every town of repute had a jāmi' mosque, Jerusalem had its Aqsā.

The mosque was by far a more common element in the "town" than the citadel or the walls.

Dar al-'Adl existed at least in Aleppo, Damascus and Hamā. It was the centre of the administration of justice, especially when the sultan, if in town, made himself accessible to the public on certain days of the week. The Zenkīs took especial pains to emphasize the function of dar al-'Adl and this was followed by their successors.[3] In 666/1267 a special council was held by Baybars for a "fatwa" when he wanted to appropriate the land of Ghuta.[4] It was held in Dār al-'Adl.

The Governor of the city, who was of a nāyib status, had his special house.[5] In Damascus he lived in Dār as-Sa'āda.

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(1) Durr, 61, 64, 65, 68.

(2) Ib., 71ff.

(3) Nūr ad-Dīn built dār al-'Adl in Damascus. (Abū Shāma, Rawdateyn, I, 8;) (Kunūz adh-Dhahab, cited by Tabbākh, I'lām an Nubalā,III,10). In Aleppo it was another Ayyūbīd, az-Zāhir Ghāzī, who built dār al-'Adl, (ib.,11). See further Sauvaget, Alep.126, 169, 182; EFD, III, 1-2. A Sultānī order with instructions that it should be inscribed on dūr al-'Adl (inscription from Great Mosque of Hamā, year 836.) Ibn Kathīr, XII, 329; Ibn Furāt, VII, 109.

(4) Dhahabī (MS), XII, 6a. Shahrazūrī, addressing az-Zāhir on the occasion, said, "Water, herbage (kala') and pastures are not to be possessed. Whoever has it owns what he has." Dhahabī, cited Dāris, I, 442).

(5) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 291. After the defeat of Sunqur (679/1280) in Syria, Lajīn was appointed nāyib as-saltana. Sinjar al-Halabī, who was commander-in-chief of the sultan's army, accompanied Lajīn on the occasion, entered Damascus with him and settled him (rattabahu) in dār as-Sa'ada. See also ib., XIV, 188, 232. In 705/1305 nāyib as-saltana stayed at al-Ablāq, ib., 6.

Baybars however built al-Qaṣr al Ablaq[1] for his residence when in Damascus.[2] It was used by his successors.

The Ayyūbīds of Aleppo saw that they lived in magnificent houses, and thus had three such palaces built for them early in the 7th (13th) century, the first of which was burnt down in 609/1212.[3] Under the Mamlūks the nāyibs had their special residence,[4] and apparently they were free to choose suitable places. Ḥamā had "a royal residence for the Nāyib".[5]

Beirūt had its palaces for its amīrs of al-Gharb.[6] Tripoli had a dār anniyāba too.[7]

Of much value to the cities of Syria were the maydāns. Damascus had al-Maydān al-Akhḍar,[8] Maydān al-Ḥaṣa,[9] and Maydān Taḥt al-Qal'a.[10] In Aleppo there were five maydāns - al-Akhḍar, Bāb Qinnasrīn,[11] Bāb al-'Irāq,[12] al-Ḥaṣa,[13] and al-Aswad. In the Mamlūk period Maydā

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(1) Ib., XIII, 274.

(2) Masālik, in G-D., 45. f. Ibn Kathīr XIII, 332; XIV, 197.

(3) Durr, 53-4.

(4) Ib., 243.

(5) Ib., 268 (dār an-Niyāba).

(6) For a detailed study see Cheikho, Mash., XXIV (1926), esp. pp. 47-50.

(7) Qalq. IV, 234 (dār an-Niyāba). Ibn Batuta, I, 138, calls it dār as-Sa'āda.

(8) Masālik, in G-D., 45; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 274, 332; XIV, 197.

(9) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 460.

(10) Masālik, in G-D., 45; Badrī, 26-3.

(11) Durr, 39, citing Ibn Shaddād.

(12) Ib., 46.

(13) Ib., 71.(7).

Taḥt al-Qal'a developed.[1] Ḥamā had a maydān in Sūq al-Khayl.[2]

Some of those maydāns were rather large. According to Ibn Shaddād, al-Maydān al-Akhḍar of Aleppo was 750 dhirā' long, with a width that varied from 70 (north) to 50 dhirā' (south.) Maydān Bāb Qinnasrīn was 1150 cubits long. Maydān Bāb al-'Irāq was 520 dhirā' long and 85 to 150 dhirā' wide.[3] In Damascus, according to Sauvaget's estimate al-Maydān al-Akhḍar was 500 x 150 meters.[4]

Maydāns served the cities in more than one way. Processions of the nāyib and military parades took place there.[5] The sultan played polo in the Maydāns of Damascus, and attended horse-races. The sultan's sons went there daily for various kinds of sport.[6] Maydān Taḥt al-Qal'a in Damascus boasted not only of shops and traders of every description, but of clowns, jugglers, conjurers and story-tellers, especially in the nights.[7]

Pilgrims returning to Damascus stopped first in a maydān to the south of the city.[8] The quarter there has retained the name to this very day, being known as al-Maydān. In Bairūt the feast of al-Aḍḥa was celebrated in the open places of the city.[9]

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(1) Sauvaget, Alep, 169.

(2) Qalq., IV, 239.

(3) Durr, 39.

(4) Esquisse, 460.

(5) Qalq., IV, 239.

(6) Ibn Jubair, 288.

(7) Badri, 63.

(8) Brocq., 302-3.

(9) Ib., 296.

Maydāns were the places of more serious or serene events. Thus in 743/1342 the amīrs met at Sūq al-Khayl (Taht al-Qal'a) in Damascus to decide their position towards the sultan.(1) The same place was used for public executions, when such publicity was considered to serve as an example. Thus in 726/1325 Nāsir ibn al-Haythī was executed because of his apostasy.(2) Hasan ibn ash-Shaykh as-Sakakīnī was hanged in 744/1345 for similar reason.(3)

Public funerals of distinguished people took place in the maydāns, like Ibn Taymiyya's in 728/1327.(4)

Thus the Mosque, dār al-'Adl, dār an-Niyāba and the maydāns were essential parts of a city. Public life, the administration of justice and State parades were all performed there.(5)

(3) Sūqs and Khāns

Each town had, of necessity, its market; the larger the town, the bigger the market. In Syria large towns had to provide not only for their population, but for the countryside as well. ~~But~~ So in cities which were mercantile centres for foreign trade, such as Aleppo, Damascus and Beirūt, we notice that their sūqs (markets) tend towards specialization on the one hand, and storage of large quantities on the other. The first tendency is clear in

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(1) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 202.

(2) Ibn al-Wardī, II 278.

(3) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 211.

(4) Ibn al-Wardī, II, 284; Mu'aymī, I, 77. When Ghazzī (Nahr adh-Dhahab, I, 88) wrote, "The maydāns were, for Aleppo, gathering places in times of trouble, fighting grounds in revolts, places for state decrees to be announced and places where fares were held," he was not wrong.

(5) Orders were inscribed on the mosques in the 9th (15th) century. See IFD, III (1933), 1-2.

the names of the streets or sūqs; the second expressed itself in the building of qayseriyyas and khāns.

Damascus, in addition to the usual sūqs found in large cities, for ordinary trades and crafts, developed military trades, connected with army personnel.[1] Thus we find suq as-Surujiyyah (saddlers), as-silāḥiyyīn (armour manufacturers and dealers), and allied crafts, which centre mainly in "Taḥt al-Qal'a".[2] Suq al-Khayl (horse market) was certainly one of the most important not only in Damascus, but in Aleppo[3] and Hamā[4] as well.

Not only Aleppo[5] and Damascus had their sūqs, but Tripoli,[6] Beirūt, Jerusalem, and Hebron. Beirūt had a legacy from the time of the Crusades, namely that Venitians lived there and had their own sūqs.[7] Jerusalem had sūqs for various trades.[8] Hebron had one speciality which was manufactured in sūq as-zajjajīn (glass-makers),[9] but besides it had various other sūqs, as al-husuriyyah (mat-makers) and al-ghazl (spinning).

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(1) Damascus had 170 sūqs. Zayat, Mash.XXXVII (1939), 22-7, citing Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Nuzhat ar-Rifāq.

(2) Suchem, 129; Poggibonsi, 71; Badrī, 62-3. cf.Sauvaget,Esquisse,464

(3) Durr, 241; Sauvaget, Alep. 170.

(4) Qalq., IV, 239.

(5) Durr, 60, 241ff.

(6) Masālik, in Durr, 263; Qalq., IV, 143.

(7) Cheikho, Mash.,XXIII (1925), 947, citing Sālih.

(8) Mujīr ad-Dīn, 401-4.

(9) Ib., 425.

The khāns (caravanserais) were of vital importance for traders. There they stored their merchandise until such a time came when they could dispose with them. Aleppo, with its large amount of trade had as many as 38 khāns, of which 12 were outside the city walls.[1] These khāns were "so large that each was almost a port, on account of the amount of goods exchanged in it".[2] Damascus according to Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, had 76 khāns in the 9th (15th) century, and those were within the walls.[3] Even in the latter part of the 8th (14th) century there was one special khān for the Europeans.[4] Jerusalem had a large khān called al-Wakāla.[5]

(4) Social Centres

The special interest which the Mamlūks, as well as their predecessors the Ayyūbīds, had in schools both as educational and political organs, led to the building of a large number of them. Ḥamā[6] and Tripoli,[7] Ḥimṣ[8] and Ma'arrat;[9] Jerusalem[10] and Hebron, had their schools. But Aleppo and Damascus certainly had many more. In 661/1262 Damascus had 17 well known schools.[11] Ibn Shaddād gives the number of Damascus schools as 86,[12] and this could be accepted

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(1) Durr, 248-50. (2) Ib., 254.

(3) Cited by Zayat, Mash., XXXVI (1938), 66-71.

(4) Qisariyyat Ibn al-Bābi; ib. 67.

(5) Mujir, II, 403. (6) Qalq., IV,140;Maraṣid, I,318f.

(7) Qalq., IV, 143; Masalik, in Durr, 263.

(8) Raq.,IX, no. 3518. (9) Mujīr, II, 385f.

(10) Ib., 226-7. (11) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 222,239.

(12) A'laq, III, 73b-106a.

without reserve.[1] Aleppo according to Ibn Shaddād had 50 schools.[2] But Ibn ash-Shihna added 13 which were built between the times of the two authors.[3] Besides, Ribāts, khānqās, zāwiyas and masjids were numerous. We shall suffice ourselves here with giving a few figures for Aleppo and Damascus, leaving a discussion of their function to a later occasion.[4]

	Ribāts[5]	Khānqās[6]	Zāwiya[7]	Masjids[8]
Aleppo	3	35	3	215
Damascus	21[9]	17[10]	8[11]	364[12]

That other places, such as Tripoli, Ḥamā, Jerusalem, Gaza, Hebron and Ba'lbeck had their khānqās, ribāts and zāwiyas is clear from a reference to the sources.[13]

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(1) Cf. Sauvaget, ~~Damas, 55~~ Esquisse, 462.

(2) A'lāq, III, 29a - 34b.

(3) Durr, 232-33. See Sauvaget, Alep, 178-9.

(4) See infra c. VI, S. II.

(5) A'lāq, III, 25b.

(6) Ib., 24-25b.

(7) Ib., 33-34b, see Sauvaget, Alep. 178.

(8) Ib., 20-2. Apart from the two jāmi's (14-15) these mosques were inside the walls. Outside the walls Aleppo had 377 mosques (Durr,104).

(9) A'lāq, III, 72a-73b.

(10) Ib., 71a-72a.

(11) Ib., 87a-102b.

(12) Taken from Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, Thimār al maqāsid.

(13) Tripoli, Masālik, in Durr, 263; Qalq, IV, 143. Hamā, Qalq, IV, 140. Jerusalem, Mujīr, II, 386ff. (Jerusalem had 26 zāwiyas and turbas, 4 ribāts and two khānqās all of which were built or existed in the 7th and 8th (13th and 14th) centuries). Ibn Batuta, I, 125-6, Gaza, Qalq, IV, 93. Hebron, Mujīr, II, 426-7. Hebron had 23 zāwiyas. Ba'lbeck, Qalq, IV. 109.

Bimaristāns (hospitals) were essential elements in town life during the period. Most Syrian towns, not only the cities, had their bimaristāns.[1] They will be treated later.

Baths, too, constituted a vital part of a town, so that the building of a bath was considered a charitable act. Aleppo had, according to Ibn Shaddād 156 baths, besides 31 baths in the big houses.[2] Ibn ash-Shiḥna, commenting on Ibn Shaddād, gives a few more,[3] but singles out two especially big ones - an-Nāsirī and 'Ashiq tamur's.[4] Damascus had 57 baths in the 6th (12th) century, but it had 74 in the 8th (14th) century.[5] Tankiz built a bath in Jerusalem,[6] and it was not the only one in the Holy City.[7] Hebron had its baths, and so did Ḥamā,[8] Tripoli,[9] Beirūt[10] and Safad.[11]

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(1) See infra c.VI. S.

(2) A'lāq, (MS), I, 36a - 37b.

(3) Durr, 133-4.

(4) Ib., 134.

(5) Munajjid, Mash.XLI (1947), 403, citing Ibn 'Asākir. See also pp.405-8. Ibn Shaddād (7th/13th century) mentioned 85 baths. ib.p.403.

(6) Irbilī, 19.

(7) Durar.

(8) Qalq., IV, 101.

(9) Qalq., IV, 140; Durr, 268.

(10) Masālik, in Durr, 263; G-D.,112; Qalq., IV, 143.

(11) Cheikho, Mash., XXIII (1925), 948, citing Sālih ibn Yahya.

(12) Its baths were in wādī at-Tawshīn, Qalq, IV, 149-50.

Fortifications, public buildings and social centres constituted the essential parts of a town. Ibn Hajar, in his biography of Sinjar al-Jawitī says of him that when he was nāyib of Kerak in [1] "711/1311 he built in it a palace for the nāyib He was the first to make it a town (maddanahā) - thus building the palace, the Mosque (jāmi'), a bath, a school (for Shafi'īs), a khān, a maristān and a maydān." It is significant that in the parlance of the age, these were the elements that constituted a town (madina).

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(1) Durar, II, 170-1.

IV. WATER SYSTEMS

Water has always been a problem of the Syrian towns, especially of the larger ones. The problem presented itself in two aspects. Firstly carrying the water to the city, secondly distributing it throughout the various quarters.

Where rainwater was the source of the supply for the town each individual saw to his own needs. But, generally speaking, each town had at least two great reservoirs - one in the mosque and the other for the citadel, if it existed. The first could be used by the public, while the second would be mainly for the use of the garrison. But when a drought visited the neighbourhood then there was as near a calamity as could be, both in economic and social life. Should this come for a few years in succession the town may dwindle in size and population and gradually cease to exist.

Towns depending on small springs within their walls, like Ramla (1) and Gaza, (2) suffered badly in case of drought. But here the wells were supplemented by cisterns and reservoirs.

Attempts to supply cities with water from copious springs, was known in Syria, from the time of the Romans, as remains of acqueducts prove. (3) This tradition was carried on by the Byzantine Whatever the fate of such acqueducts was under the early Arabs, they finally suffered complete or partial destruction in the 10th and 11th centuries. (4) When the country revived under the Zankīs,

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(1) Qalq., IV, 100.

(2) Ib., 98.

(3) Map of Roman Palestine (PDA), 1940.

(4) Abul Fida 231; Qalq., IV, 100, 127.

Ayyūbīds and Mamlūks attempts to solve the problem of water, especially for the bigger cities, were renewed, and some of the works of the period claim a high standard of workmanship and engineering.

Ḥimṣ drew its water from al-'Āṣī,(1) which flows not far from it, and apparently the population did not face difficulties, as the river has a good supply itself. Bairūt resorted to an aqueduct(2) to carry the waters of Nahr Bairūt to it. Ladhiqiyya(3) had its reservoirs, but it had to secure its water from somewhere else because the wells were a little brackish. Tyre under the Latins seems to have had a good water system, which supplied not only the city but its orchards and sugar-cane plantations as well.(4) William of Tyre has left a very good description of the system applied there, and we believe it is worth quoting in full.

"These waters have their origin in the lowest part of the plain and do not rise in the mountains as do many other springs. They seem in fact to gush from the very depths of the abyss. Yet they have been artificially raised into the upper air by the care and skill of man, so that they water abundantly all the surrounding region and in their beneficient course render the plain available for many purposes. By means of an admirable structure of stonework

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(1) Abul Fida 261.

(2) Ib., 247.

(3) Ib., 257.

(4) William of Tyre, XIII, 3.

rivalling iron in its strength, the water has been raised and conducted aloft to the height of ten feet. Thus the spring which in its natural low position was of little use, when elevated by artificial means contrary to nature has become a benefit to the whole surrounding country and pours forth its waters in abundance for the production of crops.

"As one draws near to examine this remarkable work, the outer tower looms up prominently, but no water is visible. On reaching the top, however, one sees that a great reservoir of water has been brought together here which is distributed thence to the adjacent fields by means of aqueducts of equal height and massive structure. For the convenience of those who wish to ascend to the top of the tower, a staircase of solid stone is provided, the incline of which is so gradual that even those on horseback can ride without difficulty to the top.

"All the country round about derives immense benefits from these waters. Not only do they supply gardens and delightful orchards planted with fruit trees, but they irrigate the sugar cane also."

It is difficult to believe that this system escaped the fate of Tyre late in the 13th century.

Jerusalem needed water badly. The spring of Silwān could help. But apparently an aqueduct had for a long time carried the waters, from the higher reaches of Arṭās, about seven miles to the South, to Jerusalem. This aqueduct needed constant care. In 713/1313, one of many occasions of its kind, the sultan

ordered that water should be carried to Jerusalem. Al-Jawlī, then governor of the city, answered the call and performed the duty.[1] Again in 728/1327 Tinkiz ordered to provide Jerusalem with water.[2] Men were brought to work. Hebron had to have a pond built, to collect water for the animals of the town, a practice common to many towns and villages in Syria. In 682/1283 the jawālī revenues from Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Beit Jala and Hebron were allotted for the construction of such a pond in Hebron.[3]

Some towns were fortunate enough to have water flow through them. Ḥamā had no less than al-'Āṣī winding through it, Nawā'ir, water wheels, lifted the water from the course of the river to acqueducts which carried the water to most places, houses and baths in the city. The Higher Mosque and dār-an-niyāba received their water as well.[4]

Tripoli enjoyed a small river, which provided the city with its needs. Even high storeys of houses, where a staircase was needed to climb to them, received their need from the waters[5] of 'Abū 'Alī, as the river is now called.

Nablus has a perennial spring which the town has enjoyed ever since it was built in that valley. It attracted the

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(1) Durrat al-Aslāk, (Marsh, 386) year 713 H.; cf. Durrat al-Aslāk (MS), I, 391 a.

(2) Sulūk, II, 289.

(3) Sulūk, I, 712.

(4) Abu., 263; Durr, 268; Qalq., IV, 140.

(5) 'Umarī cited in Durr, 263.

attention of Arab geographers from al-Muqaddasi onwards, as the only town in Filastīn with "running waters".(1)

Jinīn is another fortunate place. In this category we may include 'Ajlūn and as-Salt.

Damascus and Aleppo, were cities and needed more water, and a discussion of the problem here gives us a real good view of both needs and means to meet the heavy demands.

Damascus held an excellent position to make use of the water supply that came to it from the higher places to the west. The seven rivers of Damascus have become proverbial both as regards abundance of supply and beauty of surroundings. That Damascus had attended to the distribution of water through digging a canal in the period of the Arameans is clear from the reference to Abana and Farfar in the Old Testament and in the pure Aramaic name "Thora", which has been used ever since.(2) Roman Damascus received a new canal, which possibly led the water to a reservoir, from which it reached various parts of the city.(3) Nahr Yazīd, from the Umayyad period, revived the lands of Harasta and other villages in the Ghūta.

No wonder Damascus had, in the times of Ibn 'Asākir, 120 canals.(4) Responsible people in the Mamlūk period took a serious interest in the water problem of the city, as Tinkiz(5) did,

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(1) Muq., 174; Abul Fida, 240; Ibn Bat., I, 128.

(2) Sauvaget, Esquise, 432.

(3) Ib., 441.

(4) Ibn 'Asākir I, 261.

(5) Tinkiz, in 728/1327, spent the large amount of 300,000 dirhams on the redistribution of water and cleaning canals in Damascus. (Sulūk, II, 289).

so that by the time al-Badrī wrote, Damascus still had its seven principal canals (usually called nahrs) intact. They were Yazīd and Thora along the Eastern Mountain; Banyās (Abāna), Qanawāt, Qanāyah and Darāni along the Western Mountain; and Baradā taking care of the lower parts.(1) Water reached every bath in the city; every mosque enjoyed a generous supply of water;and palaces, as well as many private houses, could boast of sufficient water to meet their needs.(2)

With all this Damascus had the sources of its waters outside its walls, as a matter of fact very far from it. So in case of a siege the besieging army could cut the water from the people. One case, we know of, is that of al-Malik al-Kāmil who, in 626/1228, besieged the city and cut the waters of Banyās, Qanawāt, Yazīd and Thora from the city.(3)

Aleppo presented the authorities with a more difficult problem than that of Damascus. Quweiq, the river which apparently supplied Aleppo with water early in history, failed when the town grew. In addition the river is not reliable, as it dries, sometimes completely, in summer.(4) So Aleppo had, already in the Hellenistic period, to secure a more reliable source. This was done by bringing

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(1) Badrī, 92-3.

(2) For modern studies of water supply and distribution in Damascus see: Allen, Oasis of Damascus; Ecochard, Les Bains de Damas; Tresse, L'irrigation dans la Ghouta de Damas, REI. 1929. On the impressions of earlier writers see: Dimashqi, (Fr.Tr.), 265 ft; Qalq.,IV,92,95-6; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 246.

(3) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 154; Dhahabī (MS) XI.

(4) Durr, 138.

the waters from Ḥaylān, about eight miles to the north of the city.[1] Possibly this canal received considerable attention under the Byzantines and Umayyads.[2] The Zankīs, especially Nūr ad-Dīn, extended it to sūq as-Silāḥ and al-Khashshabīn, and probably to the maydān just inside Bāb Qinnisrīn.[3] But by 605/1208 the canal needed almost a complete reconstruction. This fell to az-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, the Ayyūbid, who, with the help of engineers from Damascus, measured the waters of Ḥaylān, the amount coming to Aleppo and the length of the canal.[4] Having been assured by the engineers that the repair of the canal would satisfy the needs of the city, both in public and private life, az-Ẓāhir went on, attending to the work in person, and allotting to each of his amīrs a stretch of the canal for the supervision of workmen and building material. The work was completed in 58 days.[5] Pipes were built inside the city so that most houses received their water directly. Even al-Ḥādir as-Sulaymani received water from the canal.[6]

In order that the reconstruction and repairs may be carried out without difficulty az-Ẓāhir arranged a special "waqf" for the canal.[7]

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(1) Mazloum, 10-26; Sauvaget, Alep, 45-6; Durr 142.

(2) Durr, 141.

(3) Ib. 142.

(4) Durr 142-3.

(5) Durr, 143. Sauvaget, Alep,141-2; Mazloum, 3 (& plan ').

(6) Durr, 143.

(7) Durr, 144.

Under the Mamluks as-Sajūr was utilised to increase the amount of water reaching Aleppo. In 713/1313 the plan was prepared by Sawdi, nayib of the city. The costs were estimated at 300,000 dirhams. The sultan was prepared to pay half, and Sawdi had to provide for the rest.(1) Work was begun in 713/1313, but probably suffered neglect, as it was not completed till 731/1330, when Arghun was nayib in Aleppo.(2) This new system made it possible for baths to increase in number and have enough water for their needs.(3)

The provision of water to great cities was a costly matter, and so was the upkeep of water canals, sabils and qastals, as all these were exposed to destruction.(4) The invasions of Timur and earthquakes(5) did a great deal of harm. But all the same the work was necessary and governors paid enough attention to the problem.

The people of Aleppo had reservoirs built in their houses to keep the water. Some high places in the city collected rainwater for their needs.(6) We may assume that such reservoirs were precautionary measures taken to safeguard a reasonable water supply in cases of siege.

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(1) Sulūk, II, 131. On the name of the nāyib see Nujūm, Ix,229, n.1.

(2) Ibn al-Wardī, II, 294; Sulūk, II, 337.

(3) Sauvaget, Alep, 181-2. On other canals see Ghazzī, I, 64-6; on the extension of supplies under the Mamlūks see Sauvaget,Alep.182.

(4) Durr, 144.

(5) Ghazzī, I, 56.

(6) Durr, 141 (citing Ibn Shaddād.)

Who was responsible for the administration of the public water in Syrian towns ? (1) We have come across an interesting reference to this question in as-Subkī. The great Qādī of the 8th (14th) century says, in connection with the duties of al-Muhtasib, "Of the duties of al-Muhtasib, especially in ash-Shām, two, which are vital; one is coins, whether gold or silver, ... and the other is water, and he should be careful about its distribution." (2) Other treatises on al-hisba, although full on other matters, make no reference to this point.

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(1) Ibn 'Asākir, I, 248, says "the canals of Damascus and their endowments (awqāf) were all known and clear to the officer (mutawwalī) of Awqāf. But among the state agents of the age of the Mamlūks there is no one who is especially responsible for water systems.

(2) Mu'īd, 62-3.

V. THE POPULATION

(1) The Population

It is our purpose to examine our information about the number of population in Syrian towns. Unfortunately Arab geographers and travellers of the period never interested themselves in numbers. Historians supplied a few figures, which have to be accepted with reserve.

Al-Maqrizī gives the population of Antioch to be 100,000 in 666/1267 when Baybars occupied the town.(1) Ibn Shaddād gives 40,000 as the number of those killed on the occasion.(2) In Gazan's campaign the Damascus region is supposed to have lost 100,000,(3) while the Tamerlane invasion resulted in 360,000 captives taken from Ash-Shām.(4)

Some information has come to us through other sources. Nāsir-I-Khusraw gave Tripoli(5) and Jerusalem(6) 20,000 each. Benjamin of Tudela who interested himself especially in the Jewish community, gives the number of the Jews in Syria at about 10,000.(7) Petachia of Ratizbon, a contemporary of Benjamin, estimated the Jews in

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(1) Sulūk, I, 567.

(2) Ibn Shaddād cited by Ch.Ledit in Mashriq, XXXIII (1935), 203.

(3) Sulūk, I, 894.

(4) Ghazzī, III, 216, citing Kunūz adh-Dhahab.

(5) Khus., 7.

(6) Ziadeh, Ruwwād, 66, citing Khusraw.

(7) The figure represents the total number of Jews mentioned in the Syrian towns visited by Benjamin.

Damascus at 10,000.(1) As Benjamin was more accurate and specific in his collection of information, we may accept Petachia's figure as meaning Damascus and its dependencies, i.e., Syria. Benjamin says that during the earth-quakes which visited Palestine immediately before his visit, the country lost 20,000 people.(2) William of Tyre says that the Maronites of Syria numbered 40,000.(3)

Two European travellers estimated the population of Damascus at 100,000 people - they were Jacque de Verone,(4) who visited the city in 1335 and Brocquiere(5) who came in 1432. Aleppo was a large city, but the figure given by Ghazzī is certainly fantastic.(6) He has estimated the population at 666,680.- souls. More than one criticism could be levelled against him, (1) He supposed the population at his own time (early 20th century) at 200,000 for the purpose of this particular calculation, while he himself gave the population as about 120,000.(7) (2) He considered the number of baths in Aleppo, at his time, which was 42, and allowed each bath (200,000 ÷ 42) 4762 persons. Then he followed this up by taking the number of public baths given by Ibn Shaddād,

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(1) Adler, 85. Petachia mentioned one Jew in Jerusalem (Grünhut,44).

(2) Benj., 79.

(3) Will., XXII, 8.

(4) ROL, III, 291.

(5) Brocq., 294.

(6) Ghazzī, I, 330.

(7) Ib., 331, 332.

namely 140, and gave each bath the same number of people, 4762. Thus by simple multiplication he arrived at the figure of 666,680. We may say that if Aleppo had 140 baths in the middle of the 7th (13th) century it does not follow that 4762 people would use each of them. (3) Apart from any inaccuracy in the method we cannot concieve of any city in the period under discussion as having a population approaching 700,000 souls.

Having thus surveyed the figures that have come to us we propose to examine them. We may accept the figures given for Damascus, and allow it a population of 100,000. Aleppo could not have lagged behind Damascus, and we may give it a similar number, i.e., 100,000, before Tīmūr's campaign. Tripoli might have had, in the 8th (14th) century, some 20,000 people, considering its growth in that century.. But Jerusalem could not, in the 8th century, have approached the figure given by Nāsir-i-Khisraw, as it had undergone too many vicissitudes to harbour 20,000 people. 10,000 may be a more reasonable suggestion. We may consider Gaza, Beirūt and Antioch to have had 10,000 each. There remain about 22 other and certainly smaller towns in Syria. An average of 2,000 each will give us 44,000 people.[1]

Summing up we have:

Damascus		100,000
Aleppo		100,000
Tripoli		20,000
Jerusalem)		
Beirūt	(10,000	40,000
Antioch	) each	
Gaza	(	
22 Small towns		44,000
T o t a l :		304,000

(1) For comparison with European towns in the same period see appendix

If we consider the town population as constituting one seventh or one eighth of the total population of the Country we find that Syria altogether had a population of something between two and two and a half millions.[1]

(2) Social Status

During the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries Syria, with such a mixed population, had a variety of social status. The point we have to keep in mind is that the state was a religious one, in the sense that its law was based on Islam. And here we come to the very core of the problem - namely that non-Muslims, according to the law, could not be equals of Muslims.

In addition the state itself was not only a Muslim state, but it was a sunni state. A third fact to be kept in mind is that the state, in as far as the real governors were concerned was composed of a foreign minority, which wanted, and had, a privileged place in the society.

Keeping these considerations in mind we should not be surprised to find a complicated society in Syria, especially in the towns. We have at the top the handful of the nāyibs, their assistants of military officers (Arbāb as-Suyūf), and their armies. They felt their position and generally utilized it for their private end.[2] Then come the people at large, who may be divided vertically into two categories citizens (Muslims) and non-citizens (non-Muslims).[3]

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(1) The nomadic population may be estimated at about 200-250,000. This is based on the grounds that they constitute about 10% of the modern population of Syria.

(2) In the opinion of Sauvaget, Alep. 161.

(3) Slaves, whatever their number was, do not enter into the picture here.

Taking first the citizens themselves we find, with no definite lines of division, that they included (a) Ashrāf (b) Shī'a and (c) all others. The first group, by far the smallest, had a distinguished position, which grew out of practice, although it had no foundation in theory or legislation. Their position was especially respected through the existence of the post of naqīb al-Ashrāf.(1) Their distinguished position secured to them respect of the population.

The Shī'a were in a peculiar position after the extinction of the Fatimīds and the revival of sunnī states. Sauvaget suspects that the Shī'ites accepted a defeated attitude.(2) But the victorious sunnīs never left them alone.

In 596/1199 al-'Ajamī was crucified in Damascus because he claimed to be Jesus. His punishment was decided upon by the juriscomsults. Two days later the populace of Damascus rose against the Shī'a.(3)

Ibn Jubair refers to the "rafidīs" in derisive remarks when he speaks of the Mubuwiyya, who made it their duty to fight these rafidīs and kill them.(4)

From the year 660/1261 comes a story which is rather significant. When Āl al-Bayt were mentioned, al-'Izz, who was present said to as-Sayf al-'Āmidī, "But, sire, the people of Damascus have carried you with them that you have become godless and apostate.

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(1) Qalq., IV, 193. On the problem of Ashrāf see R.Levy, An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam, Vol. I (London, 1931), 93ff.

(2) Sauvaget, Alep, 137.

(3) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 16.

(4) Ibn Jubair.

Do you want to follow them so that you will come to like 'Āl al-Bayt? This should never come true."[1]

Abu Shāma in reporting the death of al-'Izz ad-Darīr in 660/1261 he said of him that he had all kinds of students including "rāfiḍa."[2]

Ibn Baṭuṭa[3] and Qalqashandī[4] are not favourable in their references to the Shī'a.

We do not believe that Shī'īs could have held any state magistracies under the circumstances. That they became more influential in the corporations, or at least more active there, is only a proof of the subordinate social position they were forced to suffer.

The other Muslims (group (c) above), were the ordinary citizens of the town, or for that matter, of the country and the world of Islam. They felt that the state was theirs.

When we go to the other side of the wādī, to the non-citizens (non-Muslims) we come across difficulties and variances. The non-Muslims, Christians, Jews or Samaritans, and whether they spoke Arabic or other languages, as long as they lived normally and

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(1) Dhayl Mir'āt az-Zamān (MS), 63a.

(2) Abū Shāma, ib., 216.

(3) Ibn Bat., I, 145, explaining the state of neglect of the tomb of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, says that this was due to the fact that the people of the neighbourhood, (Ma'arra) were rafiḍīs arjās. Again the people of Sarmīn are referred to in contemptuous terms (ib. 146).

(4) Qalq., IV, 153, on the people of the district of Tyre, quoting at-Ta'rīf.

habitually in Syria under the Muslims they were "dhimmīs", and thus had the protection of the Muslim community. They traded freely, practised their occupations as they wanted and had their own religious chiefs to decide their disputes. Some of them served the governors especially in the medical profession and financial matters. For all practical purposes they were part and parcel of the community. But legally they were not equal to the Muslims.

They paid "Jizya", which was the sign of social and political inferiority.(1) They were not allowed, from the fuqahā point of view, to hold offices where they should command Muslims. They were not allowed to teach at schools, medical schools apart. Ibn Jama'a was only voicing an earlier view when in the 8th (14th) century he formulated "That a mushrik or dhimmī may not help in the jihad, unless the sultan was satisfied of his good opinion in Muslims".(2) In addition dhimmīs were requested to appear with certain attire; a Christian had to have a girdle and hang a cross, a Christian woman had to have one black and one white shoe, and a Jew had to have a yellow or red rope on his shoulder.(3) Let alone restrictions on Christians as far as building of churches and houses, the call to prayer through bell-ringing and a few other things.(4) All these things taken together must have created for the Christians and others

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(1) Shayzarī, 107; Ukh., 45; Shāmī, c.27.

(2) Ibn Jama'a, Tahrīr, Islamica, VI, 401; Ukh., 39.

(3) Shayzarī, 106; Ukh., 41-2.

(4) Shayzarī, 106-7; Ukh., 40-5.

a position which was not a very attractive one. But one thing must be remembered namely that the exceptions to this rule were very numerous, even during the period under discussion.(1) The fact remains that the dhimmīs were not a part of the body politic of the country and were in a protected position with an amān extended to them.

But in addition to the Christians habitually living in Syria, there were the trading people, who came on visits for their business. They were under special supervision. As they came from countries which were antagonistically disposed towards Syria and Egypt, it would be quite reasonable for the Mamlūks to supervise them more carefully. They were not considered as having amān (safe conduct) unless they obtained same, and it would be valid only for the duration for which it was given. This was the pronouncement made by as-Subkī when he was asked to give a fatwa (religious opinion) on an incident which took place at 'Akkā in 751/1350.(2)

When Alexandria was attacked in 767/1365, the nāyib of Damascus retaliated by imprisoning al-ifranj (Europeans) who were

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(1) On the question of dhimmīs and their position see Shayzarī, 106ff; Ukhuwwa, 38ff; Ibn Jama'a, Islamica, VII, 27ff; Zubdat al-Fikra (MS), 700ff; al-I'lām XI (MS), 33b; Ta'rīf (MS), 112b ff; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 16; Ibn Furāt, VIII, 18-9; Sulūk, I, 810-11; H. Zayāt, Mashriq, XLI (1947), 1-12; Subki, in Atiya, Studien, 55-68.

(2) Atiya, Studien, 55-68. See C.IV, S infra for the incident.

A family of five (man, wife and three children) might be taken as an average family of the time. Such a family needed, for essential commodities, a minimum of 31 dirhams per month as it is clear from the table below.

Commodity	ritls (1)	price per ritl (2)	expenses (dirhams)
Wheat	15-20	½ dir.	10
Rice	3	2/3 dir.	2
Other cereals	3	½ dir.	1½
Meat	2-3	2-3	6
Sugar	1	7-10	7
Oil	2	1	2
Vegetables etc.	-	-	2
		Total	30½

This does not include clothes or rent.

Now for earnings! We have been able to secure a few earnings, mainly of the professional type of income, which will help us see matters in the eyes of those people.

		in dirhams
A physician (3)	(15 dinārs)	300 per month

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(1) Average need of commodities per person is based on calculations taken from people's experience in the East.

(2) Prices quoted here have been computed from information supplied by 'Umarī (Masālik) and Qalqashandī. For a discussion of prices see infra. C. V, S.

(3) Uṣaybi'a, II, 193.

		in dirhams
A professor (1)		80 per month
An imām (2)		40 per month
A mu'azzin (3)		30 per month
A Shaykh ḥadīth (4)	X	30 per month
A mu'īd (asst.teacher) (5)		20 per month
A student (6)		10 per month
A Qur'ān reader (7)	X	7-14 per month
A muḥaddith (8)	X	7 per month
A porter (9)	X	10-20 per month

X besides he received bread rations

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(1) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 321. Nu'aymi, Dāris, I, 427, quotes 80 dirhams per month for shaykh of al-Fārisiyya (year 908). Shaykh here presumably meant the professor, but in the absence of a nāzir or imām, it is likely that the shaykh was not just a professor. Again Nu'aymī ib., 413, gives the expenses of al-Imādiyya (year 865) and allots 160 dirhams per month for "tadrīs". But it is not clear whether one or more people were engaged in this teaching.

(2) Ars Islamica, VII (1940), I p.l. Dāris, I, 413 (9th century). Nu'aymī, ib., 9, quotes 100 dir. per month for imām of ad-Dulāmiyya, Damascus.

(3) Ars Islamica, ib.

(4) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 184.

(5) Ib., 321.

(6) Ib.

(7) Rep.XII, No.4472; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 184. Dāris, I, 427, a muqri' at al-Fārisiyya, received 15 dir. per month. Ib., 9, a muqri' received 30 dirhams per month but he had no bread jirāya.

(8) Ibn Kathīr, ib. A Qāri' hadith received 20 dirhams per month.

(9) Rep. ib.; Ars Islamica ib.

Taking food expenses alone we find that a physician and a professor could provide their families. An imām as well as a shaykh hadīth and mu'azzin who received bread rations could escape need. A student, who is supposed to support himself only, could manage, on grounds of austerity, with 10 dirhams a month. But all the others referred to above earned certainly less than their needs. It is very likely that the muhaddiths and qari's, quoted above, did only a part-time job at dār al-hadīth, and were free to supplement their earnings.

The cases discussed are far from representing a cross section of the people of Syria. We should have liked to know something of the earnings of artisans and small merchants. But as such data is not available we had to satisfy ourselves with the material at our disposal. And dangerous as it may be to conclude from so few cases, we venture to say that standard of living, for these groups, was certainly low. We wonder how the former fared in the circumstances.

Only the rich merchants who controlled the markets could enjoy the joys of life which money could provide. To this class may be added the governors and officers of the army who secured, through their official position, many a thing which wealth ran short of securing.

C H A P T E R F O U R

T O W N A D M I N I S T R A T I O N

I. STATE AGENTS

II. INTERNAL SECURITY

III. CONTROLLERS OF ECONOMIC LIFE

IV. OFFICERS CONNECTED WITH SOCIAL LIFE

V. RELIGIOUS HEADS

VI. PROFESSIONAL OFFICERS

VII. AL-HISBA

VIII. AL-MUHTASIB

IX. GENERAL REMARKS

TOWN ADMINISTRATION

I. STATE AGENTS

In discussing the administration of towns in Syria under the Mamlūks we have to keep in mind the fact that every officer or magistrate was appointed by the state - either by the Sultan or by the nāyib. The town knew no elective bodies or magistrates. Islam had no such legislation for municipal administration, and practice never developed one. We may come across some self-appointed magistrates, but we shall see that they could not function till an order, from the proper authority, had been issued which established their jurisdiction and permitted them to act on behalf of the state.

However, we propose to deal with the town magistrates as groups, and the first group will be the administrative group, or state agents proper. These include the wālī, the qāḍī, the shādd, the mufti and the rais.

The wālī of a town, who would sometimes be called nāyib for the larger ones, such as Jerusalem,[1] Ba'lback[2] and Gaza,[3] was responsible to the nāyib as - Saltana or Kāfil al-Mamlaka. His duties covered the security of the people as in Damascus,[4] where he was expected to attend to it in person, while inspecting the harāt of the city at night.[5] In Ba'lback he had to "restore the country, help revive the mawāt lands, and

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(1) Majīr, II, 405.
(2) Qalq., XII, 313.
(3) Qalq., IV, 98.
(4) Qalq., XII, 301.
(5) Ib.,

see that evil-minded people were suppressed.[1] At ar-Ruhba the local governor was to see that commercial travellers were well treated; that people who had pecuniary rights (in awqāf) received their dues; and that he should swell the coffers of the state through careful handling of funds. His assistants, were expected to extend all possible held to him.[2] In al-Marqab, which commanded the old coastal town of Bānyās, the nāyib was supposed to keep an eye on the men of the sea and see that their boats and barges were always serviceable, and their weapons ready.[3] A similar thing was expected from Muqaddam al-'askar at Jabala, who apparently was more important than the wālī.[4] Muqaddam al-wilāya (al-wālī) at 'Akkā gave permission to the Europeans to celebrate a festival in Easter Week in 751/1350 and tried to protect them. When however trouble broke out he had to report to the governor of Safad, who in turn sought the legal advice of the Judge in Damascus.[5] Ibn ash-Shihna says that the duty of a wālī was to end troubles.[6]

So that a wālī may well keep order in the town he had the Shurta (police) under him. Qalqashandī states that definitely about Damascus "like other wilāyas".[7] We have various references to the post of "shihnah" which means head of the police. Thus al-Mubāriz Ibrāhīm (d.623/1226) was for forty years shihnah of Damascus.[8] Ibn Kathīr, when reporting his death says of him that he was one of the best "wālīs".[9] The wālī was himself head of the police, as

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(1) Ib., 313.
(2) Ib., 408.
(3) Ib., 463-4.
(4) Ib., 468.
(5) Atiya, in Studien, 64-5.
(6) Durr, 172, referring to al-Bāb and Buzā'a.
(7) Qalq., IV, 187.
(8) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 150. (See ib. 54.)
(9) Ibn Kathīr, XIII. 115.

in this case, or had the police under him, as Qalqashandī states.[1] The post of Shihna was known in Aleppo too, as the name of the Author of ad-Durr testifies. Head of the police, Shihna or wālī, was responsible for the behaviour of people lest they should disturb others.[2]

Al-Maqsid states that wālī ash-Shurta (chief of the police) was appointed by the nāyib, and had jurisdiction within the walls of the city, over jināyāt (crimes and assaults). (Cited G-D., 151 note 2). Gaudefroy-Demombynes considers this to be wālī al-madīna referred to by Qalqashandī.[3]

The wālī had, sometimes, to attend to other duties besides keeping order and regulating the police. The nayib of Tripoli instructed the governor of Hisn al-Akrād to see that drinks were not bought and sold in his town, and that Christians behaved themselves.[4] It was the duty of the wālī of Damascus to enforce the laws prohibiting the trade in spirits in the city.[5] The nayib of Tripoli was requested to build a mosque in each village of the Ismā'īlīes[6] expropriating the land from the people. The Sultān wanted them to return to the sunnī rite. Nāyib al-Qibliyya the

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(1) Jazarī uses four titles for the same post. Thus Ibn an-Nishābī is called - wālī harb Dimashq (p. 46), Mutawalli al-harb (p. 55), Mutawalli al-balad (p. 58), Wali Dimashq (p. 67). The references go to the years 695-7/1295-7. Mutawalli al-harb was used in 642/1292 (p. 25).

(2) See Usaybi'a, II, 150, where the post, disowning rowdy parties, warns people that if they hold such parties the neighbours may accuse them to the Shihna. Wālī ash-shurta had a special headgear (Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 118).

(3) G-D., 151, note 2. For Shurta under the Fatimīds in Egypt see Qalq., V, 452.

(4) Qalq., XIII., 20-2, marsūm dated 765/1363 (ib., 20).

(5) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 115.

(6) Qalq., XIII, 35, marsum dated 717/1316 (ib., 30).

southern district of the Mamlaka of Dimashq, whose administrative centre was Busra, had to supervise the pilgrimage and safeguard the route for the traders.(1)

The second magistrate was the qāḍī. A qāḍī in a town acted on behalf of the qāḍī al-quḍāt of the mamlaka. His duties were prescribed for him by the Law (Sharī'a) and he saw that judgment was passed according to the contents of the law. That most towns had at least one qāḍī is clear from a glance at any of the authors of the period.(2) After 664/1262, when it became usual to appoint four chief justices in Damascus and Aleppo, more than one qāḍī could be appointed in the larger towns. But even before that a large city, where one qāḍī would not be sufficient the qāḍī al-quḍāt could delegate others to try people in parts of the town. In 617/1220 Ibn az-Zakī qāḍī Dimashq, appointed qāḍīs to help him. So one sat at Mashhad 'Alī, one at the Kallasa, one at the Shubbāk al-Kamālī(3) and the fourth at at-Ṭurkhaniyya in Jayrūn.(4)

Attached to the qāḍī were ash-shuhūd, witnesses who were an interesting institution in the big towns. Originally associated with the qāḍī to decide a question of "'adāla", they grew between 2nd (8th) and 4th (10th) centuries into a body of notaries called "shuhūd". They decided smaller disputes - independently. In this capacity they were officers of the qāḍī and

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(1) Ib., XII, 314, 315, From the time of az-Ẓāhir Barqūq.
(2) See for example Zub., 131-5.
(3) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 118.
(4) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 84 gives the number as four, the last being his addition. Cf. Ib. 146 where Ibn Kathīr refers to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān at-Takritī (d. 634/1236) as a man "who used to deputise for judges". Cf. Sulūk, I, 848-9; see also Ibn Furāt, IX, 298.

were appointed and dismissed by him. In the 4th (10th) century the post was abolished.(1) This abolition was either theoretical or else did not last long. Ibn Mammātī considers a shāhid as existing of necessity and discusses qualities which a shāhid should possess.(2) The 7th (13th) century witnessed a strong revival of the shuhūd (notaries). In 623/1220 al-Jamāl al-Miṣrī became the judge of Damascus. Twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, he collected the shuhūd of the town at the 'Adiliyyah Court, so that whoever had a document to be witnessed or a case to be dealt with, could have it done on the spot.(3) Apparently there were no specific qualification for a shāhid. In Damascus they were booksellers and book-binders, who, being through with their usual work, proceeded to dūr al-'adl (houses of justice) where they witnessed to people's cases. But in 635/1237 qāḍī al-quḍāt, Aḥmad ibn Khalīl al-Khuwayyī, organized places of shuhūd.(4) Of these places Taht as-Sa'āt,(5) al-Khizana,(6) Bāb ash-Shamiyya and Sūq Sārūjā,(7) are the ~~most~~ best known In Aleppo shuhūd were stationed at Suwayqat Hātim, Sūq al-Hawā, Sūq as-Sābūn and Sūq al-'Ulabiyyah.(8)

The qāḍī was an indispensable magistrate in towns.(9) The community could not be left without a man who would decide

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(1) EI, art. shāhid.
(2) Qawānīn, 304. In 451/1059 the Fatimid Caliph ordered the judge of 'Asqalān to see that his shuhūd were reliable people. Shāhids must have eight men testify to their character, before they could come before the judge (Abū Shāma, Rawḍatayn I, 50.)
(3) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 148. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 114.
(4) Sulūk, I, 273; cf. Ibn Furāt, IX, 298.
(5) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 212; XIV, 214.
(6) Ib., XIV, 12.
(7) Dāris, I, 430, citing ibn Qāḍī Shahba.
(8) Sauvaget, Alep, 182-3 (note 1). Bāb al-Jami' was another place for shuhūd, Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 199.
(9) Beirut had a qāḍī (Ṣāliḥ 40); 'Akka had one (Atiyah, Studien, 64).

disputes and assess responsibilities.[1] But it was not so with the mufti, whose work was to help find a ruling where the law was not quite clear. When in 751/1350 trouble took place at 'Akkā as a result of the visit of Europeans to celebrate Easter the nāyib of Safad could not pass a judgment because he could not decide the status of the Europeans involved. Were they dhimmīs? Were they people with a safe-conduct because they came for the express purpose of trade. Legal opinion was needed to clarify the matter, but Safad then had no mufti, although it was the capital of a mamlaka. The nāyib thus referred the matter to the qāḍī al-quḍāt of Damascus.[2] As the illumination on a point of law was not of great urgency and could be referred to more learned people, it was not the usual thing to appoint muftīs in every town.

Another group of state agents were the shādds. Their number was rather large, but we think that those who were in direct contact with the people of the town were shādd az-zakāt and shādd al-awqāf. The first did not have his duties confined to the resident population but included the merchant of spices,[3] and he saw that they contributed their share of Zakāt to the treasury. Shādd al-awqaf[4] in Damascus attended to, and supervised, all matters of waqf in the city. This was a very responsible post, if we keep in mind the variety and number of donations in the city.[5] Besides,

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(1) Durr, 172.
(2) Atiya, in Studien, 64.
(3) Tujjar al-kārim, Qalq., IV, 187.
(4) Qalq., IV, 186.
(5) Ibn Batuta, II, 237.

as each waqf had its own conditions of spending the funds the shādd had a difficult time seeing to all this. In Aleppo[1] shādd al-awqāf was a man of a higher official standing.

Not only Damascus and Aleppo, but all the six capitals had shādds for awqāf. In the smaller towns however there was a nāzir awqāf, who was responsible for the local waqf and he exercised a very limited power.

We have touched only on the most important posts of the town administration. We should like to remind ourselves of the fact that each of those magistrates had his a'wān who helped him perform his duties. The wālī had the shurta, the qādī had his nuwwāb[2] and shuhūd and the shādd had his nāzirs. They all had their hords of scribes who performed the intricate and delicate routine and kept the books.[3]

But besides the assistants and helpers the magistrates had surely other means of contacting the people. We shall have occasion to refer to many of these as we go on with our discussion. For the time being we should like to refer to a few. Ibn Kathīr tells us that in 699/1299 Nāyib as-Saltanah in Damascus, paraded ahl al-aswāq (people of the markets), and appointed a muqaddam (head) for each sūq.[4] Our authorities do not specify the work or position of the muqaddam, but we may assume that he could act as intermediary, but only at the pleasure of the nayib and mostly, we think, to serve his ends.

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(1) Qalq., IV., 219.
(2) Ibn Furat, IX, 298; Suluk, I, 848-9.
(3) Nuwayri, VIII, 298 ff.
(4) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 12; Sulūk, I, 903.

Maqrīzī tells us that in 709/1309 the wālī of Cairo called for ashāb al-arbā' (night-watches of the quarters of the city), and questioned them about places of wine-drinking.(1) So the night watches were responsible for such places. We may suppose that similar arrangements probably lingering from the Byzantine night-watches, could have existed in Damascus and Aleppo. Mintāsh appointed prefects for az-Zu'r (spivs) of Cairo and had the names of their hāras written down.(2) Mintāsh, or some other governor would do something similar in some Syrian towns. We have however, two inscriptions from Hamā which show that the shaykhs of harāt were responsible for order in the hāra.(3) Shaykh at-tahhanīn (corn millers) in the Mamlaka of Halab(4) could probably act in a similar capacity.

We have already had occasion to refer to the ra'īs.(5) That the big towns knew a ra'īs is evident from the various references to it.(6) In times of disorder a ra'īs would probably control the town, especially when he was head of the "ahdāth". But did he have any special work to do in ordinary times? We cannot decide on the evidence of our authorities, but we are inclined to believe that whatever ra'īses were there in towns, they could not exercise but personal influence, which depended on their personality and the disposition of the governor at the moment.

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(1) Suluk, II, 54, see also note 1.
(2) Ibn Furāt, IX, 131.
(3) IFD III (1933), 10, 13 - two inscriptions from the Mosque of Hamā of the year 903 and 904.
(4) IFD III (1933), 21 - inscription from Bāb Antakiya in Aleppo of the year 899.
(5) Supra, C. VII, SS. 3 & 4.
(6) We may add the following to our previous references: A'lāq, 41, 18, 21a; Durrat, al-aslak, (year 726 A.H.); Durar II, 75; Abu Shama, Dhayl, 92; Qalanisi, passim.

Village ra'Īses were certainly more influential and in many cases they represented and acted on behalf of the state.[1] We may suggest that many of the ra'Īses were self appointed leaders, or hereditary ones; they received the sanction of the state, because it was convenient for both parties to do so. The ra'Īs was thus officially recognized and this enabled him to carry out his duties more easily.

Added to the ra'Īses of villages, in the sense that they acted as state agents, are maqaddams (heads) of the Turkmen, al-Akrād and al-Jabaliya (people of the mountains, i.e. the Christians of Lebanon),[2] atabek[3] al-Ismā'Īliyya, and amīrs of the Arabs.[4]

On occasions towns were left without responsible administrative magistrates, and then somebody had to step in and fill the gap. When Ġazān's men entered Damascus the magistrates of the city had absconded, and it was left for some men to attend to the affairs of their city. This group of men included the qādī, kabīr al-mudarrisīn (chief of the professors), 'ulama (savants), sulahā (pious men), mashāyikh and ra'Īses. It is clear from the statement that Ghazan's general, Qipjaq thought those were the suitable men to negotiate.[5] When Aleppo had to answer a charge by Ghazān two notables were added to the magistrates.[6] This was the extent to which people shared in the administration of the affairs of their city.

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(1) Nuwayrī, VIII, 246.
(2) Qalq., V. 468; 254.
(3) Ib., IX, 254-5.
(4) Ib., IV, 204, 210, 211, 212.
(5) Zettsteen, 60-5, 78 of II; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 9, 201; Ibn Furāt, IX, 251.
(6) Sulūk, II, 369.

II. INTERNAL SECURITY

The town-people in Syria, especially in the bigger towns, suffered considerably from the soldiers stationed in their midst.[1] As the soldiers had the protection of the governor not much could be done against them. Only a strong governor, and a just one, could put an end to their troublesome behaviour.

Another source of trouble for the peaceful population came from criminals who usually throve in big cities. The population were protected against such people by the "Shurta", who were helped by a few other arrangements. One of them was that lights were kept almost throughout the night - this was surely the case in Damascus in the middle of the 8th (14th) century.[2] Another such arrangement was the beating of drums in the night, from the citadel. This was not only for giving the time,[3] but, as the bell in the citadel of Aleppo rang for the first time in the night, people went home, and no-one remained in the streets.[4] Again the second ring of the bell announced the time of "Badīl"[5] (change of the guard or night watch). That beating the drum was common is clear from Mujīr ad-Dīn's statement about Jerusalem, where he says that "Previously drums were beaten ... according to the custom of citadels in the country."[6]

Besides, there was, apparently, a system of collective punishment, at least for cases of murder. In 906/1500 an order abolished the "fines which the people in a hāra had to pay, when a

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(1) Sauvaget, Alep, 161.
(2) Pogg., 77.
(3) Qalq., IV, 185; Badrī, 63.
(4) Durr, 56; A'lāq, 14a.
(5) Durr, 56.
(6) Mujīr, II, 405-6.

man was murdered in their ḥāra".[1] The abolition included Ḥamā and Damascus.[2] Although the abolition comes late in the Mamlūk period, we have reason to believe that it had been the custom for some time. Apparently what led to its abolition was an abuse of the practice.

Another thing becomes quite clear from the above references, namely that a "shaykh al-ḥāra" was a responsible dignity in keeping order inside the town. We have information from the early 10th (16th) century from Ḥamā.[3] We wonder whether the "shaykhs" were similar to "aṣḥāb al-arbā'" of Cairo, who were in charge of the night watch there.[4]

Fires were one of the most destructive factors in the life of Damascus, where timber was used for building. The city was exposed to very great fires in 8th (14th) century, the details of some of which have been kept by historians.[5] Aleppo too suffered, although to a lesser degree, from fires.[6] Yet we do not find that the government took any precautions against fires. The authorities were more careful about Cairo where, in 721/1321, each shop-keeper had to provide two big vessels full of water, ready to be used in case of fires. The same was to be kept in all lanes and side-streets.[7] But it may be contended that there was no point in providing vessels full of water in Damascus, as water was available everywhere.

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(1) IFD, II (1932), 45, inscription from Damascus, Madrasa Isʿārdiyya, year 906.
(2) IFD, II (1932), 46, 47, 48.
(3) IFD, III (1933), 10, 13.
(4) Sirat al-Malik az-Ẓāhir (MS), 18a; Sulūk, II, 54; Dozy, Supp.Dic.
(5) 740 H. (Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 186); 744 H. (Ib., 210); 794 H. (Ibn Furāt, IX, 307); 798 H. (Ibn Siora (MS), 172-3).
(6) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 182. Durr, 53, gives a full account of the burning of Dār al'izz.
(7) Suluk, II, 222.

III. CONTROLLERS OF ECONOMIC LIFE.

Our second group of officers deals mainly with those of economic character. Of these there were shādds of al-masābik of iron, brass, and glass;[1] of dār al-bittīkh (melons); wal-fākiha[2] (fruits); of matābikh as-sukkar[3] (sugar factories); and of al-'ushr;[4] There were two nāzirs of sūq al-Khayl and sūq ar-raqīq[5] (slave market)

When however the work of those officers is examined we find that they were as much there to safeguard the interests of the state as any others. The factories were mainly sultaniyya[6] (royal) and the officers saw that nothing went wrong. Shādd al-'ushr was to collect the dues on foreign traders.[7] The two officers responsible for the two sūqs were there to collect the state dues.[8] Most of the shādds had assistants, appointed by the state. Probably shādds made use of the muqaddams of the suqs to carry their orders to the public.

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(1) Qalq, IV, 188; IFD, II (1932), 51, inscription from al-Jāmi' al-Jadīd, Damascus, year 925, where mu'allim (master) of al-masābik as-sultaniyya is mentioned.
(2) Qālq; Ib.; Zayāt, Machriq, XX VII (1929) 762-3, Citing Jazarī year 697 (Paris MS, 241), Qādi Ibn Shuhba, and al-Wāfī.
(3) Qalq., IV, 188; G-D, 159, note 2; Muwayri, VIII, 271 ff.
(4) Qalq., IV, 187, Shādd al'ushr to attend to what comes (and who comes) from foreign countries.
(5) Ib., 191.
(6) G-D., 159. note 2.
(7) Qalq., IV, 187.
(8) Qalq., IV, 32.

IV. OFFICERS CONNECTED WITH SOCIAL LIFE

This group of men includes those who attended to the social welfare of the people. They were usually holders of wazāif diwaniyya and dīniyya, and thus were Syrians and Egyptians.

The Bimāristāns[1] were of great interest to the state. The nāzir was not necessarily a physician. Az-Zamalkāni,[2] al-Ghazzī[3] and al-Maqrīzī[4] were nāzirs of al-Bimāristān in Damascus. Qalqashandī states that the nāzir was appointed by an-nāyib from among "arbāb al-aqlām" (men of the pen, i.e. diwānī officers).

Men who were responsible for teaching the youth, whether in schools or at the mosques, belong to this group. Altogether educational posts were considered as "wazaif dīniyyah" (religious offices). These tadārīs were kibār (great) and sighār (small). Appointments were made by an-Nayib but "the social status of the office depended on the man who occupied it."[5] It is obvious that when Ibn Khallikān or someone of his standard holds such a post, it becomes of as high a status as any in the line.

Sometimes all teaching posts were attached to qādī al-qudāt.[6]

Ribāts, khānqās and zāwiyas each had its own shaykh. But there was shaykh ash-shuyūkh who was responsible for all the

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(1) Bimaristāns will be treated fully under social institutions (C. VI,
(2) Dāris, I. 32. (3) Al-Manhal as-Ṣāfī, Ibn Tighrī Bardī, cited by Isā, Tārīkh al-Bimāristānāt, 211.
(3) Sakhawī, at-Tibr al-Masbūk, 22 cited by Isā, ib., 212.
(4) Ibn Taghri Bardī al-Manhal as-Ṣāfī, cited by 'Īsa, ib., 211.
(5) Qalq., IV, 193, 222.
(6) Sulūk, I, 465.

shaykhs and who acted as an administrator and intermediary. In Damascus shaykh ash-shuyūkh attended to the poor as well.[1] It had become traditional, in the times of al-Qalqashandi, to appoint shaykh al-khanqāh ash-Shumaysātiyya to the post.[2] Aleppo had a similar post.[3]

In his capacity as shaykh ash-shuyūkh he had to see that members of each order observed its regulations. But his ways should be those of guidance and help not punishment.[4]

Each mosque especially the larger ones, had a nāẓir khatīb and imām; the first administered the mosque, the second gave the Friday sermon and taught, while the third led in prayer. Nāzir al-Jāmi' al-Umawī was sometimes qādī al-quḍāt,[5] while nāzir al-Jāmi' al Kabīr in Aleppo was a companion to the nāyib.[6]

Amongst the men who performed a vital social service to the community were "ad-daw'iyya", namely men who attended to street lights at night.[7]

V. RELIGIOUS HEADS

Dhimīs living within the Mamlūk Empire had special organization, whose members acted as intermediaries between the state and its subjects. Thus the Christians had their patriarchs and the Jews had their head, called Nāgid.[8]

There were two batraks (patriarchs) one for the

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(1) Qalq., IV, 193.
(2) Ib.
(3) Ib., 221.
(4) Ib., XII, 412.
(5) Qalq., IV, 191; Suluk I,465.
(6) Qalq., IV. 220.
(7) Nuwayrī, VIII, 246.
(8) Mann, 251 f.

Malkites and the other for the Jacobites, and both were recognised by the Mamlūks and responsible to the Nāyib in Damascus.(1) In a tawqī' the Batrak is expected to see that his community observed laws of marriage and inheritance; to attend to the needy members of the community; and to observe his monks. Besides it was the duty of the Batrak to see that the Christians observed the laws and regulation imposed on them in questions of dress and behaviour.(2) Churches and monasteries were under his control.(3)

There is no mention, in our authorities, of the religious head of the Maronites of Lebanon. We believe that this is due to the fact that the Maronites were not considered a religious minority living in the cities, but as a "group of people", like similar groups, and whose affairs were transmitted to the state through their Muqaddams.(4)

The Jews had a ra'īs and so did the Samaritans.(5) The latter had his seat at Nablus, with a representative in Damascus.(6) The Ra'īs of the Jews was to deal with them according to their customary laws.(7)

The Ginezah MSS have thrown more light on the communal organization of the Jews, under the Fatimids; and we have every reason to believe that most of this persisted throughout the

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(1) Qalq, IV, 194; V, 473-4. (2) Ib., XII, 425; Sulūk, I, 910-1.
(3) Ta'rīf (MS), 113a-115b.
(4) Qalq., IX, 254-5, where al-Jabaliyyah may mean the Maronites or else include them. When Louis IX addressed a message to the Maronites he did so through the amīr, the Patriarch and the bishops. (Duwayhī, 110-1).
(5) Ta'rif (MS) 112b - 113a; Qalq., V, 474.
(6) Qalq., IV, 194; Cf. Ibn Furāt, VII, 18-9.
(7) Ta'rif (MS), 112b-113b; Qalq., XII, 428.

Mamlūk period. Saladin probably appointed a dignitary to look after Jews in Palestine and Syria after his conquest.(1) This man bore the title of "Nāgid", known al-ready in Fatimid Egypt. Then there was the head of the congregation, who represented the local Jewry.(2) Aleppo had one.

In order that both the Batrak and the Ra'īs could attend to their obligations they had assistants of various degrees. Bishops and clergy acted on behalf of the first, while the second was helped by his parnasim (supervised charity collection). Elders hāber or dayān, hazzān and bet-din.(3)

Neither the Batrak nor the Ra'īs were apparently responsible for the collection of the jizya. This was paid direct to the state official responsible for its collection.

But in order to ascertain such dues the state had to be kept acquainted with the developments within the community. In Cairo there was a state official known as Mubāshir al-Jawālī. He saw that the local heads of Christians, Jews and Samaritans supplied him with riqā' (returns) containing full details about people normally resident in the place, names of new-comers, of births, deaths, departures and converts to Islam.(4) Damascus had a shādd al-Jawālī whose duty was, we presume, to attend to similar affairs.

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(1) Mann, I, 257. (2) Ib., 257-8.
(3) Ib., 258-66. Ibn al-Wardī, II, 265, says in 715/1315 died in Damascus Bahā' ad-Dīn 'Abd as-Sayyid, who was dayān of the Jews in Damascus, before he was converted to Islam. "Dayān" existed in Egypt c. 700, (Sulūk, I, 910).
(4) Nuwayrī, VIII, 242-3.

VI. PROFESSIONAL OFFICERS

There was a group of chiefs which may be called professional. Their duty was to see that members of the profession did not abuse their position or confidence. The chiefs were three: Chief of the physicians, chief of the surgeons, and chief of the oculists.(1) Both Damascus and Aleppo had three chiefs each.(2) Sometimes they would be attached to the chief of the physicians in Egypt,(3) but apparently this was not the general practice. There is one occasion when something approaching a "council for medical services" materialised in Egypt, when in 684/1285, three brothers were appointed to the three headships of physicians, oculists and surgeons, with the eldest brother "as a chairman of the council".(4) In Damascus Badr ad-Dīn was the head of all physicians, oculists and surgeons, early in the 7th (13th) century.(5)

VII. AL-ḤISBA

From the point of view of the community al-muḥtasib was certainly the most important single magistrate. He controlled, at least under the Ayyūbīds and Mamlūks, almost every aspect of the economic and social life of the community. Before we discuss the muḥtasib during our period, we might, as well, trace the development of his office down to the 6th (12th) century.

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(1) Ta'rīf (MS), 108a-110a; Qalq., V, 467.
(2) Qalq., IV, 193, 222.
(3) Mufaḍḍal, 651.
(4) Ibn Furat VIII, 22-4.
(5) Uṣaybi'a, II, 259.

An inspector of the market (agoranomos) had been known to Syria, as well as other countries in the Near East, from the early Greek periods. The Arab conquest of Syria did not do away with the local institutions to which the people had been used. There were two reasons for this. On the one hand the Arabs had no alternative instruments of administration; and on the other the Arabs, for a long time, were busy waging wars, that they could not attend to what they probably considered petty things. Thus the local organizations and instruments of administration held their ground. This went on under the Umayyads and, at least as far as Syria is concerned, the early ʿAbbāssids. During this period the officer in charge of the markets, the muhtasib, as he came to be called, inspected goods and merchandise, attended to the weights and measures and saw to the proper conduct of dealers.(1) We may resort to the dangerous argument of negative evidence. Namely as no mention is made of a substitute for, or of the abolition of, the agoranomos, we may assume that his duties were carried out as usual, or as near to it. Yet we may find a support of this suggestion in Māwardī's chapter on al-hisba, in his attempt to trace the institution back to the times of the Prophet and early caliphs. Al-Māwardī discusses the duties of a al-muhtasib as a man who always saw that fair dealing took place in the market.

This function developed, as did many other functions of the state, until a time came where it seemed necessary that

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(1) Under the Umayyads of Spain a muhtasib was known as sāhid as-sūq (officer in charge of the market) Levi-Provencal, un Manuel, P.V. note 2).

all duties of state should be legalized. Of those who interested themselves in this field, al-Māwardī (d.450/1058) is one of the best known.[1] As a jurist he was careful to specify requirements, attributes, and duties of office holders, and hisba and muhtasib were no exceptions. Then as a Muslim he certainly took pains to prove that this kind of interest existed already in the times of Muḥammad and that 'Umar actually created the office. Dr. Rice, has described this work of al-Māwardī as a "projection" on existing practice. We may add that the historical and prefatory notes of the author, shaky and weak in nature, do support the suggestion put forward by Dr. Rice.

Another eminent Muslim author, al-Ghazālī (d.505/1111), was a prominent legalizer of the institution of hisba. But to the legal aspect of the inspection of markets he charged the muhtasib with religious and ethical duties.[2]

As far as Syria is concerned we find that during the 5th (11th) century a muḥtasib existed in Lādhiqiyya[3] in Damascus,[4] and in Ḥimṣ.[5] By that time the religious aspect of the muḥtasib's function had already become crystalized so that

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(1) Aḥkām, C.20.
(2) Iḥyā, II, 274-99.
(3) Ibn Buṭlān found a muḥtasib there when he visited the town in 446/1054 (Yāqūt, IV, 339, where the name is wrongly given as Ibn Fudlān).
(4) Shayzarī, 7-8.
(5) Sharīshī, II, 297. It is noteworthy that the muḥtasib was not known in Syrian towns under the Fatimids during the 5th (11th) and early 6th (12th) centuries. Another fact is likely to draw our attention too, that the appointment of a muḥtasib fell out of practice even in parts of the Eastern Caliphate in the 4th (10th) century. (E.I., art., Sinf.)

Ṭughtakīn, wanting to appoint a muḥtasib for Damascus and having secured his need he addressed him saying "I have charged you with the hisbah on the people, with amr bil ma'rūf wa nahy 'an al-munkar".(1) The muḥtasib of Ḥimṣ, stupid as ash-Sharīshi has depicted him, was supposed to redress evil.(2) The Lādhiqiyya muḥtasib, as Ibn Buṭlān has reported, had, apparently among other duties, the supervision of prostitutes,(3) seemingly for the regulation of duties on them.(4)

Ṭughtakīn, the Zankis and the Ayyūbīds represent the revival of the sunnī movement in Syria and Egypt. With the appearance of this movement we notice two points in connection with hisbah. The one was the importance attached to the office. The second was that handbooks appear now instead of the legal treatises. The two earliest ones were "Nihāyat ar Rutbah" of ash-Shayzarī and Kashf al-Asrār" of al-Jawbari. These two come, at least in origin, from the region of North Syria and al-Jazīra. And this was not, we are convinced, accidental. It was here that the sunnī revival made its appearance, and very likely it was here that muḥtasibs were, as much as our evidence allows us to say so, more or less continual. We may venture a suggestion, which we leave open for discussion, namely that the people knew

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(1) Shayzari, 8.
(2) Sharishi, II, 297f.
(3) Yaq, IV, 339f.
(4) The duties of muḥtasib were too fluid to be lightly described. A glance at the various titles applied to him in various parts of the Muslim world proves this. Thus he may be mixed with the wālī (Egypt), Tawwāf al-layl (Maghrib), Ashāb al-arbā' (Mashriq) and ad-darrābīn (Spain), Behrnaur, JA (1861), 472-7.

two documents which influenced them. One would be the so-called Syrian-Roman Law Book,[1] which seems to have been known in those areas. The other would be the "Book of the Prefect",[2] a later compilation of the duties of the prefect in connection with corporations in Constantinople.

But whether this was so or not hand-books appeared in the 6th (12th) century and were followed by many more later. Thus we have Ibn Bassām[3] and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa,[4] producing similar things in the 8th (14th) century, and Ibn 'Abdul-Hādī[5] writing a short manual late in the 9th (15th) century.

Dr. R. Levy has pointed out to the resemblances between Ibn al-Ukhuwwa and ash-Shayzarī,[6] and 'Arīnī drew our attention to the greater resemblance between Ibn Bassām's work and that of ash-Shayzarī.[7] But even long time before, Behrnauer had suggested that both Ibn Bassām and Ibn al-Ukhuwwa copied very extensively from ash-Shayzarī.

This digression is complementary to the historical sketch, but our point of view is that if those authors took the trouble to read ash-Shayzarī, copy him and add to him, it just

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(1) The Syrio-Roman Law Book was a mixture of Roman legal tradition and local customs blended together. Written originally in Greek, it was translated into Syriac, Armenian and Arabic. According to recent theories the book is believed to have been produced in Bairut in the fifth century A.D., with the intention of classicizing the law. Previously it was held that it was written by a priest or under such influences. (Shultz, F., History of Legal Roman Science, 324).
(2) Le Livre du Prefet, J. Nicole, Geneve, 1894.
(3) Cheikho, Mashriq, X (1907) 963-8; 1079-86, deals with Ibn Bassām, and quotes him fully.
(4) Ma'ālim al-Qurba, ed. R. Levy, Cambridge, 1937.
(5) Zayat, Mashriq, XXXV (1937), 384-90, publishes 'Kitāb al-Hisba" by Ibn Abdul-Hādī.
(6) See Levy's edition, passim.
(7) Shayzarī, introduction, p.h.(2).

means that there was a great demand for handbooks on ḥisba. This demand came from the interest the state had in the institution and from its ever growing duties that it became hardly possible for a man to attend to its multiferous duties without a good guide.

An examination of these handbooks as well as other treatises of the period, shows that the muḥtasib was expected to attend, besides his previous duties, more and more to the artisans, and keep them under control. Why was this the case?

It has been argued that artisan organizations in the Muslim world were influenced by, and thus tended towards, Ismā'īlī teachings.(1) This was directly opposite to the interests of the sunni State of the Ayyūbīds and the Mamlūks. Thus artisans were under very strict supervision and it fell to the muḥtasib to enforce this supervision. Another suggestion is that as a result of the Crusades many dhimmīs, particularly Christians, became suspects of relations with Europeans. A good control of their movements could thus be maintained through supervising the markets and crafts, as most dhimmis could be found there.(2)

The 8th (14th) century knew, in addition to the handbooks referred to, legal treatises on ḥisba. Three of them may be mentioned in this connection. Ibn Taymiyyah wrote "al-Ḥisba fil-Islām,(3) Ibn Jamā'a included in his book "Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām"(4) an important chapter on the subject and as-Subki saw that ḥisba

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(1) Massignon, EI, art. Sinf; Enc. of Social Sciences, art. Guilds (Islamic); Lewis, Islamic Guilds, 22f.
(2) Wiet, Precis Hist. Egypt. II. 267-9, particularly with reference to Egypt.
(3) Published, Cairo 1328 A.H. (in Ma'ārij al-Wuṣūl).
(4) Islamica, VI, 353-414; VII, 1-34.

found place in his work "Mu'īd an-Ni'am".[1] Ibn Khaldūn[2] considers hisba among the religious duties of the state.[3]

VIII. AL-MUHTASIB

Al-Muḥtasib was the most influential single magistrate whose position brought him in direct and continuous touch with the public. His duties had grown so numerous by the 6th (12th) century that there were not many sides and walks in life where his weight was not felt, as far as the common man was concerned.

That he was chosen very carefully is clear from the attributes and conditions required in him. He should be a "faqīh", knowing the law, religious, pious, clean in heart, strict, patient, well acquainted with the methods of artisans and their means of deception.[4] Besides he should respect the privacy of people and not encroach on it to make any investigation.[5] In short he should be as perfect as any man can be for the particular duties he had to perform.[6]

A muḥtasib had a special "dikka" (booth),[7] but he should remain close to the sūqs, riding through them, and surprising the dealers both in the night and in the daytime.[8] He should always have his assistants and boys with him.[9] His right hand men

(1) Ed. Myhrman, Leiden, 1908. (2) Muqaddima, 225.
(3) We have no intention to deal with all the literature on hisba. This is why men like al-Maqrizī and others are not referred to.
(4) Shayzari, 8-10, 118; Ukh., 7-14.
(5) Ukh. 37.
(6) Qalq., X, 460-2; XII, 471.
(7) Shayzari, 38; Ukh., 94; Sulūk, II, 414-5.
(8) Ukh., 219.
(9) Ib., 220. Assistants may look after the sūqs in his absence. (Qalq., XII, 472).

were the 'arīfs[1] he appoints to the markets, and sometimes he had the shurta[2] to help him.

The duties of the muhtasib were performed mainly in the sūqs, but he frequented mosques to see that responsible people kept them clean while those who went to the mosques gave them their due respect.[3] A muhtasib was even expected to go to the courts to see that qāḍīs performed their duties according to the true principles of justice.[4] Lonely lanes were to be kept under watch so that men and women may not meet there.[5] Harbours and boats came under his control.[6] Primary schools,[7] the ḥimīs[8] and physicians and their like[9] were supervised by a muhtasib.

A muḥtasib had powers of punishment, but before he actually applied a punishment, he should resort to admonition.[10] The instruments he should use for applying a corporal punishment are described fully.[11]

A few matters of daily life were not under the muhtasib's control.[12] Slave markets, baths, schools, other than the primary ones (katātīb),[13] manufacture of sugar were not within his jurisdiction. Can we explain this exemption? The reservation given by Shayzarī in respect of slaves and baths does not exist in Ibn al-Ukhuwwa. Were then slaves and baths brought within the

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(1) See below, this section.
(2) Shayzarī, 7-8
(3) Shayzarī, 110.
(4) Ib., 113, 115.
(5) Ib., 109.
(6) Ukh., 222.
(7) Shayzarī, 103f; Ukh.,170-2.
(8) Shayzarī, 106f; Ukh., 38ff.
(9) Shayzari, 80-3, 89-102; Ukh., 159-69.
(10) Ukh., 195.
(11) Ukh., 184ff.
(12) Shayzarī, 86. This is lacking in Ibn al-Ukhuwwa.
(13) Shayzarī, introduction, p.e.

powers of the muhtasib during the intervening period? We cannot answer this question definitely. But we know, on the authority of al-Qalqashandī that sūq ar-raqīq had its own supervisor.(1) As for the other matters it may be argued that the schools were already under state-control either through the qādī or through the professors, so no subversive teaching would be allowed there.(2) Sugar manufacture was a state-control and shādd maṭābikh as-sukkar was to control it.(3)

With all this authority to wield and these sides of life to supervise and control, the muhtasib deserves more attention and claims a thorough examination. This we propose to do now.

The jurists of the period, such as Ibn Jamā'a, looked to him as a magistrate whose duties may be considered under three categories: (a) what belongs to God such as prayer, Zakāt, and fasting, (b) what belongs to man such as weights and measures, trades and commerce, and (c) matters that belonged to both, such as masters and slaves and ahl adh-dhimma.(4) Ibn Jamā'a does not analyse the office or duties more than this. Shayzarī had no time for judicial squibles, but Ibn al-Ukhuwwa wrote probably more leisurely and included much fiqh in his handbook. To him a muhtasib is a representative of the imām and thus had a right to keep the purity of markets on behalf of the holder of authority.(5)

An examination of the duties of a muhtasib would lead to the opinion that he was there to safeguard public. Thus he

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(1) Qalq., IV, 191. (2) Qalq., IV, 193, 222.
(3) Suluk, I, 465; Qalq., IV, 188.
(4) JA, 1860, 142-4.
(5) Ukh, 15ff, 52ff, 184ff.

would see that no dealer or artisan deceived the public whether in the manufacture, weight, measure or any other means.(1) The public were safeguarded against frauds by physicians, oculists, surgeons and chemists,(2) and thus their lives were protected. The comfort of the public was looked after by al-muḥtasib, by stipulating that markets and streets should be kept clean and unhampered with goods.(3) Morality was to be kept at a high standard, and al-muḥtasib had to see that people avoided compromising places.(4) Besides, he had to see that state officers and judges inflicted no injustice on the public.(5) Last, but not least, the muḥtasib saw that the public was protected against fraudulent money-changers,(6) and monopolizers.(7) It was the duty of al-muḥtasib to see that markets had supplies for everybody, especially in the case of bread.(8)

It is clear that al-muḥtasib existed for the full protection of the public. But what was his duty towards the State? Was his role limited to seeing that the laws and regulations were enforced? Or did he protect the State as well? And if so against whom?

The muḥtasib appointed 'arīfs to many trades; and they were trades which only the poorer people practised. They included butchers, fish-friers, makers of sweetmeats, sausage-

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(1) Shayzarī, 15-20, 25-41, 56-7. Ukh., 80f, 107, 115 passim.
(2) Shayzarī, 42-7, 89-96, 97-102. Ukh., 159ff, 165ff.
(3) Shayzarī, 14f, 108; Ukh., 78f.
(4) Shayzarī, 109; Ukh., 30ff.
(5) Shayzarī, 113, 115; Ukh., 208, 216.
(6) Shayzarī, 74f; Ukh., 143.
(7) Shayzarī, 12, 13, 21; Ukh., 67.
(8) Shayzarī, 21, 23, 24; Ukh., 90, 91-2.

makers, weavers, potters, needle-makers, henna-sellers, workers in sesame-oil presses, sieve-makers, tanners, felt-makers, reed-mat makers, sellers of timbers, rice-merchants, and water-carriers.(1)

The 'arīf was the head (naqīb) of his trade;(2) yet he acted under instructions of the muḥtasib, himself a state agent. This means that the muhtasib controlled the trade-guilds through their 'arīfs, who were expected to be, from the point of view of the muhtasib, "thiqa" (trustworthy).(3) Artisans were then under the complete control of the state, and this would seem normal, although not healthy, if we accept the theory developed by Prof. Massignon that artisans and their organization had been grafted by Ismā'īli principles, and that the sunni states had to combat this dangerous element.

The more respected professions, although subject to the muhtasib, were already state-organized, and thus they had no 'arīfs.(4) Thus physicians, oculists and surgeons had their heads. A few other trades did not probably need any supervision in this particular aspect. Money-changers, for example, would not take an antagonistic attitude towards the State as they would thrive only where conditions of capital and labour could be encouraged.

May we remark too that al-muhtasib prevented individual monopolies, but state monopolies were not within his powers.

Realising how essential this magistrate was to the State we should not be surprised to know that every town of

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(1) Shayzarī, 27, 33, 36, 38, 40; Ukh; 223, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234, 238, 240.
(2) Massignon, Enc. Soc. Sciences, art Guilds (Islamic).
(3) Ib.,
(4) See supra, this chapter, S. VI.

importance had its muḥtasib. In Syria not only Aleppo and Damascus had their muḥtasibs but Tripoli, Ḥamā, Ḥims, Ba'lbeck, Bairūt, Gaza and Jerusalem, besides others.(1)

We should not wonder, either, that the holder of this office should be a highly trustworthy person.

This explains, too, why almost every legal writer in Islam, from al-Māwardī onwards, discussed al-muḥtasib. Thanks to them we have been able to know so much about the office, the holder and the social activities of many a Muslim town.(2)

IX. GENERAL REMARKS

1. The practice was that one man could hold one post only, except judges who may hold tadārīs as well. But we know of various people who held more than one post at one and the same time. In 659/1260 Ibn Khallikān was qāḍī al-quḍāt, director of the Syrian waqfs, nāẓir of the Jāmi , the Bimāristān and tadārīs of seven madrassas.(3) In 704/1304 Nazar al-Bimaristan and the local treasury were held by 'Umar al-Qāsim.(4) Al-Ja'farī was responsible for Bayt al-Māl and the Jāmi' in Aleppo in 793/1390.(5) Badr ad-Dīn ibn Ghānim (688/1289 - 741/1340) held several posts from which he earned about 1000 dirhams a year.(6)

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(1) Qalq., IV, 193, 198, 199, 207, 221; Sulūk, I, 743; Zettersteen, 60; Zub., 132, 133, 134; Sharīshī, II, 297.
(2) See, besides previous references, EI, arts. ḥisba, sinf, shadd.
(3) Sulūk, I, 465; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 239.
(4) Ib., II, 13.
(5) Ibn Furāt, IX, 252. For more examples see Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 322-3; Rep. IX, Nos. 3438, 3539.
(6) Dāris, I, 435.

2. We may repeat here what has been said once before that the Mamlūk state was a centralized administration.

An interesting example of the centralization of the administration comes to us from the year 795/1392. In that year Ahmad ibn Uways arrived at Ruḥba where he and his followers pitched their tents. He asked the governor of Ruḥba permission for residence in the neighbourhood. The governor forwarded his "mutāla'a" (petition) to the Nāyib in Damascus. Even the Nāyib could not decide so the original mutala'a, with additional notes from the governor and Nāyib, was forwarded to the Sultān in Cairo. When the Sultan permitted, the letter patent was carried back in the same way.(1)

3. Under the Mamlūks men of the sword were granted iqṭā'āt for their services. As this meant a fluctuating income it would be difficult for us to estimate their salaries. But not only men of the swords were treated in this manner. Many other officers received "Jirāya" (rations) or had the income of a certain revenue earmarked for them. Thus al-muhtasib and al-bashmiqdār in Damascus received, at least in the 9th (15th) century, a certain monthly due from the people of the city, till this was abolished in 864/1459.(2) Jirāyāt were given to wazīrs(3) as well as others.

The Fatimids paid their wazīrs enormous sums, if we may trust al-Qalqashandī.(4) A wazīr received 5000 dinars per month.

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(1) Tarīkh ad-Dawlah al-Turkiyyah (MS) 68a-b.
(2) IFD, II, (1932), 41-2; Ib., III, (1933), 29.
(3) Sulūk, I, 670.
(4) Qalq., III, 525.

But this may have included many official expenses. Al-Maqrizī informs us that the nazīr of Aleppo, a post equal to that of wazīr in Damascus, received 400 dirhams a month, plus six makkūks of wheat and two of barley,(1) presumably per annum. This was smaller than what an assistant of a "kātib dast" (a clerk) received in Fatimid Egypt.(2)

The caliphal physician (tabīb al-khāss) in Fatimid Cairo received 50 dinars per month, while other physicians who attended at the Palace received ten dināars each.(3) Saladin seems to have raised this to 15 dināars.(4) When ar-Rahbī attended at the palace and at the Bimāristān in Damascus, he received 30 dināars a month, because he did a double job.(5) But physicians attending to sultans or their near relatives were lavishly rewarded. Sukkara, the Jewish physician of Aleppo, was granted, at his own request, ten faddāns of land, because he cured one of Nūr ad-Dīn's women.(6)

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(1) Sulūk, I, 670.
(2) Qalq., III, 526.
(3) Qalq., III, 525.
(4) Uṣaybi'a, II, 193.
(5) Ib., In 357/967, in Baghdād, Jibra'il ibn Ubaidullah received 300 dirhams per month for a similar appointment (Qiftī, 148).
(6) Usaybi'a, II, 164.

C H A P T E R F I V E

E C O N O M I C L I F E

I. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

II. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

I. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

(1) Wealth

Our authorities have left us accounts of the wealth which the rulers of Syria enjoyed during the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries. Thus at al-Muẓaffar's simāṭ (royal banquet) on the occasion of al-mawlid, 5,000 sheep and 10,000 fowls were roasted; besides there were 100,000 zibdiyyas (bowls) and 30,000 dishes of sweetmeats.(1) An-Nāṣir of Aleppo spent 20,000 dirhams daily on his simāṭ, where 400 sheep were cooked.(2) Of the Mamlūk governors who amassed wealth during their stay in Syria, although not all their riches came from her, we may mention Sillar,(3) Baktamur(4) and Tankiz. This last mentioned, who governed Damascus for a long period, left 730,000 dirhams 2,700,000 dinārs, apart from precious stones and jewellry.(5)

Of the individual citizens the merchants were probably the richest group. In 634/1236 al-Kamāl, the merchant, died, and left 300,000 dinārs, besides a hundred pearls, each as big as a pigeon's egg.(6) Again when Amat al-Laṭīf died in 643/1245, she left jewels and precious stones worth about 600,000 dirhams.(7)

Some budgets which came to us from Ibn Shaddād are

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(1) Mir'at az-Zaman, 451; Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 137.
(2) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 240.
(3) Sulūk, II, 55-6; Ibn Iyās, I, 155-6.
(4) Ibn Iyās, I, 167; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 157.
(5) Tarikh ad-Dawla at-Turkiyya (MS) 31b.
(6) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 146.
(7) Ib., 170.

very instructive. We have had occasion to discuss the budget of Aleppo more fully,[1] but we may add that of Harran. This town had a state income of 3,000,000 dirhams in the reign of al-Ashraf (607/1210-628/1230). Even after the Mongol invasion of the 7th (13th) century, its revenues totalled 1,580,000 dirhams.[2] Ar-Raqqa enjoyed as much as 540,000 dirhams.[3]

Damascus had to pay Gāzān a ransom, which came near to 4,000,000 dirhams and the amount was paid with no great difficulty, except for the demands of agents who wanted something for themselves.[4]

One is bound to ask how could Syria provide so much wealth to greedy and covetous governors?

In order to answer this question we have to study the economic activities of the country during the period under consideration.

(2) Natural Products of Syria

The fertility of her soil and the climatic conditions allowed Syria to enjoy various agricultural products. These included cereals,[5] vegetables and fruits. Generally speaking, Syria produced enough for her people, and afforded some exports.

Fruits which were known to Syria in the 7th (13th) and

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(1) Supra, CI. S.
(2) Ibn Shaddād, cited by Cahen, in REI, 1934, 111.
(3) Ib., 112.
(4) Zettersteen, 77; Sulūk, I, 893-4; Cf. Dhahabī, (MS), XII, 7b.
(5) Qalq., IV, 87.

8th (14th) centuries included olives,[1] figs,[2] dates,[3] grapes,[4] oranges and lemons,[5] nuts,[6] and apples.[7] Indigo[8] and garance[9] were cultivated in the country.

Syria, however, produced a few more articles which played an important role in the industrial and commercial development of the country throughout the Middle Ages. These were sugar-canes,[10] cotton,[11] silks,[12] and rice.[13]

Of other products Syria possessed a little iron-ore,[14] salt,[15] sulphur and asphalt from the Dead Sea.[16]

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(1) Ibn Jubair, 254; Qalq., IV, 87, 126; Inscription from Hamā, Great Mosque, dated 836 H., in IFD, III, (1933), 1-2; 'Umarī (Z.) 339.
(2) Qalq., IV, 126; 'Umarī (Z.) 339; Abul Fidā, 241; Durr, 252.
(3) Yaq., I, 227; Abul Fidā, 239; Id. (J.) I, 339; II, 132.
(4) 'Umarī, (Z.) 337, Sulūk, I, 69.
(5) Mara., I, 123 Abul Fidā, 249; 'UMarī (Z.) 335.
(6) Ibn Jubair, 254; Ibn Bat., I, 185; Durr, 252.
(7) Yaq., II, 308.
(8) Id. (J.) I, 339. Already in the 4th (10th) century Syria produced indigo (Muq., 174).
(9) Heyd, II, 618. Heyd's suggestion that garance was found in Syria is based on references in Pegolloti (pp. 211, 298), that it existed in Cyprus and Alexandria. Syria, according to Heyd, was a possible place.
(10) Id. (J.), I, 356, William of Tyre, XIII, 3; Burc., 99; A'lāq, 123a, 128a; Abul Fidā, 252, 254; Cf. Heyd, II, 684-6, for a full treatment.
(11) Burc., 99; Yaq., II, 308; Brocq., 299; Ḥasani, 116-7, citing Tarīkh Halab of Abū Barhaba; 126 citing al-Jughrafiya of Ibn Fāṭima, written in 1335; Heyd, II, 612, citing Pegolotti and Lannoy.
(12) Abul Fidā 271, Poloner, 33, 35; Hasanī, 127, citing Ibn Fātima.
(13) An inscription from Ḥamā, dated 836 H. in IFD, III (1933), 1-2; Zub., (R.), 46.
(14) Ib, 355.
(15) Qalq., IV, 126; Durr, 47 (Jabbūl), 147; Nujūm (Pop.), V, 421; Furāt, IX, 85; EI, art al-Djabbūl.
(16) Khusrau, 24; Abul Fida,

(3) Manufactures of Syria

Syrian towns were very active in the production of manufactured goods during the 6th (12th), 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries. Although Aleppo received a heavy blow at the hands of the Mongols in the middle of the 7th (13th) century, it soon revived. Damascus became an important center for the production of arms under the Mamlūks. It was Timur's invasion c. 1400 which dealt Syrian industries a heavy blow. Damascus lost most of its skilled workmen, who were carried to Samarcand by the great Mongol.

One of the industries that was very actively pursued, even before 1200, was sugar. Tripoli knew the trade already in the 4th (10th) century, according to Istakhrī.(1) Nasiri Khusraw,(2) Idrisi,(3) Burchard,(4) Abul Fidā(5) and 'Umarī,(6) mention sugar as being manufactured in Tripoli. Other places where sugar was manufactured included Tyre,(7) Bānyās (N. Palestine),(8) 'Akkā,(9) Damascus,(10) Sidon,(11) Bairūt,(12) Caesarea(13) and Nablus.(14) The Jordan Valley produced sugar as well.(15)

Heyd suggests that, when the Crusaders occupied

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(1) Ist., 37. (2) Khusrau, 7. (3) (J.), I, 356.
(4) 9,99. (5) 252. (6) Cited Durr, 263.
(7) William of Tyre, XIII, 3. (8) Abul Fidā, 254.
(9) Burc., 99. (10) Qalq., IV, 188; Badrī, 354-5.
(11) Burc., 99; Poloner, 35. (12) Wilbrand, 167.
(13) Cartulari du S. Sepulchre, 277 cited by Heyd, II, 685.
(14) Heyd, II, 685, citing Jakuts Reisen (459), Thietmar (32), Ricoldo de Monte Croce (109), and Frescobaldi (123).
(15) Sulūk, II, 435; Nuwayri, VIII, 246 ff.

coastal Syria, they saw that the plantations of sugar-canes and the manufacture of sugar were kept intact because they provided an important source of revenue.[1]

Textiles were produced in many a Syrian town, including Ḥimṣ,[2] Ḥamā,[3] Tripoli,[4] Ba'lback,[5] Aleppo,[6] Ruṣafa,[7] Sarmīn,[8] Tyre,[9] Damascus,[10] Tiberias,[11] Hebron,[12] Antioch,[13] and Manbij.[14]

Tripoli boasted, according to Maqrizī 4000 looms for silk.[15] Poloner said the town had 1200 workmen of silk.[16] Its silk trade had probably dwindled a little by the time of Poloner, if we trust that he was well informed. Ba'lback produced a thawb (garment) of wool and cotton which cost over 30 dinārs, and which

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(1) Heyd, II, 686.
(2) Qalq., IV, 113, where its textiles are compared with those of Alexandria.
(3) Brocq., 211; An inscription from Hamā, dated 836 H. in IFD, III (1933), 1-2. A later inscription coming from Hamā, dated 894 H., qaṭṭānīn in that town. See ib., 5.
(4) Sulūk, I, 748; Poloner, 35.
(5) There are various interesting references to the cloth of Ba'lback. Ibn Qadī Shuhba reported Ba'lbacki cloth among presents carried by the nāyib as-Saltana of Syria to the Sultan in Cairo in 799/1396 (Paris MS, 1727/391, cited by Zayāt, in Mash., XLI (1947), April-June, p. 14) Al-Badr al-'Aynī said that in 805/1402 prices in cloth rose, so that the Ba'lbackī was sold for 400 dirhams (Paris MS, 1544, f. 61, cited by Zayat, ib., p. 13). See ib. pp. 13-15 for more references.
(6) Yaq., II, 308; Sauvaget, Alep, 165;
(7) Yaq., II, 278. (8) Ibn Bat., I, 145-6.
(9) William of Tyre, XIII, 1.
(10) Id., (J.), I, 352-3; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 313. We have later information of such industries existing in Damascus in the 9th (15th) and early 10th (16th) centuries. Thus in an inscription dated 854 H. coming from Masjid al-Qasab, a decree is given for the abolition of a special tax on the bleaching place of linen in Damascus (See IFD, II (1932), 31). Badrī, 362-3. See also Ibn 'Abdul Hādī, cited by Zayāt, Mash., XXXV (1937),384-90.
(11) Brocq., 299. (12) Adler, 135.
(13) Id. (J.) II, 131. (14) Abul Fidā, 270.
(15) Sulūk, I, 748. (16) Poloner, 35.

was used by royalty.[1] Ihrāms (blankets) of Ba'lback reached al-Maghrib.[2] Damascus produced one hundred kinds of weaving, of which 10 were of cotton, 20 of linen, 40 of silk, 20 of wool and 10 of mats.[3] Brocquiere purchased a capinat at Ḥamā, which was impenetrable to rain.[4]

Glassware was manufactured in Damascus,[5] Tyre,[6] Aleppo,[7] and Hebron.[8] Aleppo glasswares were well known in Yaman and among the great generals of Hulagu.[9]

Porcelains and pottery were manufactured in Syria. Armanāz,[10] Tyre[11] and Kafrṭāb[12] especially excelled in this industry.

Metal works were specialities of Damascus.[13]

Paper-making was an important industry in Syria.[14]

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(1) Nujūm (Pop.), VII, 760. (2) Ibn Bat., I, 6, 48.
(3) Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, cited by Zayāt in Mash., XXXV (1937), 384 ff. cf. Badrī, 362-3. (4) Brocq., 311.
(5) Qalq., IV, 188; Inscription from Damascus, dated 857 H. in KFD, II (1932), 32.
(6) Id. (J.), I, 349; Benj., 80.
(7) Ghazzī, I, 114, citing Thamarāt al-Awrāq where it is reported that at a royal reception given in honour of Hulagu, golden vessels of Aleppo glass were used.
(8) Carmoly, 243; Verona, 253; Pogg., 58; Adler, 135.
(9) Sa'dī reports in his Gulistān that a merchant told that he was starting another journey which will enable him to carry a variety of goods including glasswares of Aleppo, which he intended to take to Yaman. Cited by Ghazzī, I, 113.
(10) Yaqūt, I, 217. (11) Khusrau, 8, (in the 5th (11th) century.
(12) Abul Fidā, 263.
(13) Qalq., IV, 188; Brocq., 304 (swords); Badrī, 363. On the occasion of the wedding of Ānūk in 732/1332 twenty-two men carried the various copper objects of Damascus work (Maqrīzī, cited by Zayat, Mash., XLI (1947), April-June, p. 16. Ghazzī, I, 112 says, without giving his authority, that Timur captured those who were skilled in the workmanship of swords from Aleppo.
(14) In the 4th (10th) century Tiberias produced Kāghid (Muq., 80), and Tripoli was famous for paper in the 5th (11th) century (Khusrau, 8).

Damascus[1] and Aleppo[2] were the centers of this trade.[3]

Soap was manufactured in several places. Amongst others we may mention Sarmīn,[4] Ḥamā,[5] Jaffa[6] and Aleppo.[7]

Wines were produced in various places, but the best wines came from monasteries.[8] The monastery on Mt. Tabor was very famous.[9]

Bairūt[10] and Tyre[11] were centers for ship-building.

Perfumes and flower-waters of Damascus[12] and Aleppo;[13] the sweetmeats of Nablus[14] and Ba'lback;[15] the paints of Ba'lback;[16] the candles of Damascus,[17] the qabāqīb (wooden slippers) of Damascus[18] and its tamshaks (shoes),[19] and the wooden spoons of Ba'lback[20]

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(1) Damascus had three paper factories. One was known as the old warraqa, outside Bāb as-Salama and the other that of the spring of al-Hima (Ibn 'Asākir, Ẓahiriyya MS, 164 b, cited by Munajjid, Mash., XLII (1948), 360-1). The third factory was under al-Madrasa al-'Izziyya al-Barrāniyya. Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 174, 195, refers to it in connection with the burial of 'Izz-ad-Dīn Aybak and his son in 645/1247 and 654/1256 respectively.

(2) Inscription from Aleppo, of the early 10th (16th) century, in which the duty on "wirāqa" is abolished, (IFD, III (1933), 23. Ghazzī, II, 304, identifies the quarter al-warrāqa as the place where paper factories were situated. Cf. Sauvaget's note, ib. 23 x. 1).

(3) Hamā too manufactured paper according to Qalq., II, 476.

(4) Ibn Bat., I, 145-6.

(5) Inscription from Hamā, dated 836 H., in IFD, III, (1933), 1.

(6) Adler, 139.

(7) Durr, 254.

(8) Zayat, 33. Bethlehem produced good wines, Pogg., 51.

(9) Yaq., II, 675; 'Umarī (z.) 337.

(10) Salih, 32.

(11) Vitry, 16.

(12) Dim, (Fr. Tr.), 265f.

(13) Ib., 251-2.

(14) Ibn Bat., I, 128.

(15) Ib., 185.

(16) Qalq., IV, 109.

(17) On the occasion of the wedding of Ānūk, in 732/1332, the candles of Sinjar al-Jawlī, which he had made in Damascus, were the finest candles presented. Sulūk, II, 346.

(18) Zayat, citing various authors in Mash., XXVII (1929), 818-21; Badrī, 963.

(19) Uṣaybi'a, II, 164.

(20) Ibn Bat., I, 186.

were amongst many of the minor industries of Syria. Goldsmiths throve in Damascus.[1]

(4) Centers of Commercial Activities

During the 6th (12th), 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries Syrian cities and ports were emporia for merchandise carried from the east, or collected from Syria herself, to be purchased by European merchants. The occupation of the Syrian coast by the Crusaders for nearly two centuries was a stimulant to trade. But after the expulsion of the Latins, European merchants found it both convenient and profitable to visit Syrian ports frequently, and even to reside there, for the supervision of their interests.

During the 6th (12th) century there were two sets of markets under two different political controls. On the coast 'Akkā, Tyre, Bairūt, Tripoli, Antioch and Ladhiqiya, ranked amongst the first. Other towns included Jabala, Antartūs, Caesarea, Jaffa, Sidon and 'Asqalān. During the same century Aleppo, Damascus, Hamā and Hims were by far the most important under Muslim rule. In addition Mezerīb was an internal center, mainly on Darb al-Hajj (Pilgrims' route) to Ḥijāz.

The 7th (13th) century saw the disappearance of 'Asqalān, Anṭarṭūs and Jabala, and the dwindling of Jaffa, Lādhiqiyya, Caesarea and Sidon. Hims, in the interior, suffered similar decline,

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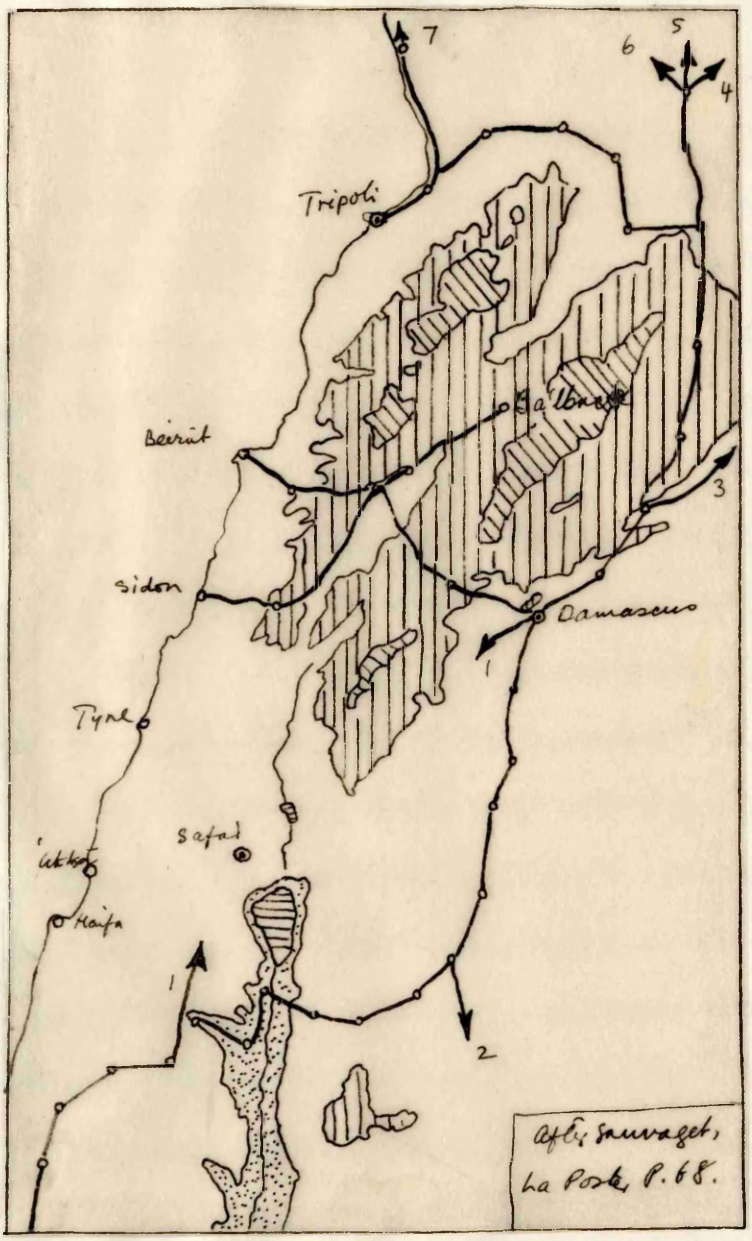
(1) Pegg., 77.

Routes in Central Syria



1. to Safad, 2. to Karak, 3. to Ruhba, 4. to Q. Ja'bar
5. to Aleppo 6. to Misyāf 7. to Ladhiqiyya.

mainly as a result of the disappearance of the Ayyūbids there, and because of a change of route, due mainly to the Mongols infiltration to the Near East. However 'Akkā, Tyre, Bairūt, Tripoli and Antioch held their own during this century, at least till their final occupation by the Mamlūks. Aleppo and Damascus, and Ḥamā to a certain extent, remained the main centers of activities in the interior parts of the country.

The 8th (14th) century witnessed the final disappearance of 'Akkā, Tyre, Antioch and various smaller towns, like Jubail and Baṭrūn, as emporia; the partial revival of Sidon; and the concentration of activities on Bairūt, Tripoli and Lādhiqiyya on the coast. Aleppo, Damascus and Ḥamā remained the real and vital markets during the same century.

As it is not quite possible to discuss every one of the towns mentioned fully, we shall confine ourselves to the examination of the more important of them.

'Akka was the most important coastal town during the 6th (12th) and 7th (13th) centuries.(1) Idrīsī describes it as large, in possession of many villages, and with a good safe harbour.(2) Benjamin speaks of it as the principal place of disembarkation(3) for foreigners. Theoderich counted eighty-four ships in its harbour.(4) Phocas said that all commercial ships anchored in its harbour.(5) Ibn Jubair spoke of the khān in which he and his friends lodged in terms of high praise, which implied varied

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(1) Heyd, I, 174-5, where he cites the travellers of the period, in support of his view.
(2) Id. (J.) I, 338. (3) Benj., 80-1.
(4) Theo., 60. Theoderich visited 'Akkā between 1171-3.
(5) Phocas, 11; he visited the HolyLand in 1185.

activities of the town.[1] Yaqūt described it as the most beautiful of the coastal towns.[2] Burchard gave a colourful picture of its full and rich markets which were covered with silk.[3] Of the goods available in its markets we may mention cinamon,[4] cardamon,[5] glover,[6] cottons,[7] galingale,[8] musk,[9] sugar[10] and textiles.[11] In the 7th (13th) century the trade in alum was a virtual monopoly of two merchants, a Genoese and a Venitian, of 'Akkā.[12] Pegolotti reported that all spices could be obtained there in abundance.[13]

Tyre occupied the second place as a commercial center on the coast.[14] According to Benjamin traders from all parts of the world came to Tyre.[15] Vitry was impressed by the large number of ships that lay in its harbour.[16] Ibn Jubair, when describing a wedding which took place while he was in the town, gives evidence to its splendour.[17] Burchard sums up his remarks on Tyre by saying that it was built in a costly fashion.[18] In its markets

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(1) Ibn Jubair, 300-1. Ibn Jubair's information about 'Akkā may be summed up as follows:- It was the centre of the Latins in Syria, where traders, both Muslims and Christians, meet from all parts of the world. Its streets and roads are crowded with people. It resembles Constantinople in its grandeur."
It may be noted here that this comparison with Constantinople is not based on personal acquaintance with the latter city.
(2) Yaq., III, 707. (3) Burc., 9, 51f.
(4) Heyd. II, 600.
(5) Ib., 601, citing Assis. de Jerusalem, II, 175.
(6) Ib., 604, citing Assis., ib., 174.
(7) Ib., 612, citing Pegolotti (49) and Lannoy (107).
(8) Ib., 617, citing Pegolotti and Assis. de Jerusalem II, 175.
(9) Ib., 639, citing Assis. ib.
(10) Ib., 685, citing Jakuts Reisen and Thietmar.
(11) Ib., 703, citing Pegolotti.
(12) Heyd. I, 319, on the authority of Rubric.
(13) Cited Heyd, I, 174. (14) Heyd, I, 175.
(15) Benj., 80.
(16) Vitry, 16f.
(17) Ibn Jubair, 304.
(18) Burc., 11f.

glass,[1] purples,[2] and sugar[3] were obtainable.

Bairūt enjoyed prosperity under the Crusades.[4] Theoderich spoke of Bairūt as a wealthy, strong, large and populous city.[5] Phocas too was attracted by the large and populous city.[6] Abul Fidā, early in the 8th (14th) century referred to it as great, with an excellent harbour.[7] Von Suchem said, "from Bairūt one could return to any country he pleases".[8] Ibn Batūta found Bairūt a small town with good markets.[9] Sālih ibn Yahya, the historian of Bairūt refers to the activities of town in more than one place.[10] Poloner and Brocquiere, of the 9th (15th) century testify to the part played by Bairūt in the commerce of Syria in that century.[11] During the period of the Crusaders Bairūt was a centre for spices,[12] amber,[13] musk,[14] textiles,[15] and pearls.[16]

Tripoli impressed Nasir-I-Khusrau very greatly by its bazaars, hostelries, wealth, population and manufactures, which included sugar and paper, as well as by its harbour.[17] Idrīsī called it one of the strong places of Syria.[18] How much was Tripoli commercially important during the 6th (12th) century is

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(1) Benj., 80. (2) Id. (J.)I, 349.
(3) William of Tyre, XIII, 3. (4) Heyd, I, 175, on the evidence of Phocas and Abul Fidā.
(5) Theo., 71.
(6) Phocas, 9, He was probably making use of Theoderich.
(7) Abul Fidā, 246. (8) Such., 135-6.
(9) Ibn Bat., I, 133.
(10) Sālih, 39-40, cf. Cheikho, Mash., XXIII, (1925), 947-8.
(11) Poloner, 32, 35; Brocq., 292, 297, quoted fully Supra, pp.
(12) Sālih, 39.
(13) Heyd, II, 573, on the authority of Pigolotti.
(14) Ib., 640, citing Viaggiat. ital., pp. 159, 160, 164.
(15) Ib., 700, on the authority of Pigolotti.
(16) Ib., I, 174, from Tafel and Thomson, II, 233.
(17) Khusrau, 6-8. (18) Id. (J.), I, 356.

not quite clear.[1] Probably it had no special background to supply it or to be supplied by it, as its hinterland was not completely subjected by its Latin princes. But in the 7th (13th) century it certainly improved immensely.[2] Its destruction by the Mamlūks led to the foundation of a new Tripoli which proved to be, in the 8th (14th) and later centuries, a very valuable port.[3] Abul Fidā, the guide to the Holy Land (of 1350),[4] Von Suchem,[5] Poggibonsi,[6] Ibn Baṭūṭah,[7] 'Umarī,[8] and Qalqashandī[9] testify to its activities in the 8th (14th) and 9th (15th) centuries. In its markets merchants found cottons,[10] sugar[11] and textiles.[12]

Antioch had, according to Idrīsī, full markets and excellent textile trade.[13] This could be said about it throughout the 6th (12th) century.[14] In the 7th (13th) century Antioch suffered slightly, but was still a useful harbour.[15] Its wealth during the century is best illustrated by the booty which its conqueror, Baybars, obtained in 666/1268 which included cloths, horses, camels and slaves.[16] But after this event Antioch ceased to be vitally important in Syrian trade.[17] Apart from various silks and

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(1) Cf. Heyd, II, 684-6 on sugar in Tripoli.
(2) Heyd, I, 322-4, Cf. A'lāq, 128b, Burc., 16.
(3) Abul Fidā, 352.
(4) Guide, 39.
(5) Such., 47.
(6) Pogg., 83.
(7) Ibn Bat., I, 137-40.
(8) Cited Durr, 263, "merchants of the sea come to it, and their ships anchor in its port."
(9) Qalq., IV, 143, "it is the port for ships from all parts of the Mediterranean."
(10) Heyd, II, 612, citing Frescobaldi, 145.
(11) Masālik, in Durr, 263.
(12) Heyd, II, 696, 705, on the authority of Tafur (p. 83).
(13) Id., (J.), II, 131.
(14) Cahen, 475-6, citing Bourgeois, Cartulari and Benjamin.
(15) Heyd, I, 321.
(16) Janābi and Mubarak, quoted in Durr, 220.
(17) Abul Fidā, 256, where he describes Antioch as a big town, but says nothing of its trade.

cottons[1] the markets provided most of the merchandise which other towns displayed.

Sidon does not seem to have been able to compete with 'Akkā and Tyre under the Crusaders, but it regained some of its previous importance[2] after the destruction of its two rivals. In the 8th (14th) century it was the port of Damascus.[3] Jaffa fared well under the Crusaders, and so did Caesarea, Jubayl and Baṭrūn.[4]

Aleppo and Damascus were the centers par excellence for commercial activities throughout the period.[5] Nasiri Khusrau speak very highly of the wealth of Aleppo in the 5th (11th) century. This commercial importance of Aleppo maintained itself down to the Mongol invasion. Thus Ibn Jubair praises its wide markets which contained all kinds of trades, and qaysariyya, which was very clean. It was a rich city.[6] Yaqūt states that the city collected 700,000 dirhams in 625/1227 from Dar az-Zakāt, which controlled foreign commerce, as well as Zakāt.[7] Although Aleppo suffered very heavily at the hands of the Mongols, it soon regained its position. Abul Fidā remarks that it lay on the main route between Irāq and Syria and ath-Thughūr, and that it was a great city.[8] Ibn Baṭuṭa copied Ibn Jubair and spoke of the markets and qaysāriyya as wide, clean and

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(1) Id., (J.) II, 131; Cf. Heyd, II, 696.
(2) In the 5th (11th) century it was a very rich and active town according to Nasirī Khusrau, 11.
(3) See Supra C. II, S.
(4) See on these towns supra, C. II, S. II, pp.
(5) Khusrau, 2. Earlier Aleppo had been described by Ibn Butlān as a very rich city in the trade of silk. Its silk qaysariyya (market) handled about 20,000 dinārs worth of the cloth daily, with 20 merchants controlling the trade.
(6) Ibn Jubair, 252. Petachia gives a similar description (P. 38).
(7) Yaq., II, 309.
(8) Abul Fidā, 366, Cf. Masālik (MS), 138b; Sauvaget, Alep. 165.

roofed with wood.[1] Qalqashandī speaks well of its wide markets and beautiful qaysāriyyas, baths, houses, mosques, zāwiyas and schools.[2]

In its markets, Aleppo offered the traders a variety of goods which left a little to be desired; alun,[3] cottons,[4] silks,[5] manna,[6] and medicinal gums.[7]

Damascus, according to Idrīsī, excelled all other Syrian towns in its commerce.[8] Benjamin remarks that a considerable trade was carried on there by merchants of all countries.[9] Ibn Jubair, notwithstanding his flowery style, leaves us with the idea that Damascus had large qaysariyyas and full markets.[10] Maundeville noted that its markets were full of merchandise.[11] Von Suchem said that nothing which man wished but could be found in its markets.[12] Poggibonsi said that the city was stocked with every precious thing and with every kind of jewels, so that you could not ask for something but was found there.[13] Ibn Batuta was so much impressed by Ibn Jubair that he copied him, so he added nothing new in this respect. But we may take this to mean that he found Damascus as wealthy and active as Ibn Jubair had found it.[14] Brocquiere said that Damascus was superseded only by Cairo in its wealth and commerce.[15]

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(1) Ibn Bat., I, 146 ff.
(2) Qalq., IV, 117, from Masālik. For an account of Aleppo in the 9th (15th) century see Durr, pass. on
(3) Heyd, II, 568, citing Germain, Capmany, Bonaini and Tarif de/
(4) Ib., 612, where Pigolotti, and Varthema are cited. Provence.
(5) Ib., 673 on the authority of Sanuto; Sauvaget, Alep, 165.
(6) Heyd, II, 633, where it was collected and then sent to Ladhiqiyya.
(7) G-D., 84 quoting Masālik. Cf. Heyd, II, 699, and Sauvaget, Alep, /165.
(8) Id. (J.), I, 353.
(9) Benj., 90.
(10) Ibn Jubair, 288-90.
(11) Maun., 190.
(12) Such., 129.
(13) Pogg., 77.
(14) Ibn Bat., I, 210ff.
(15) Brocq., 294.

That the markets of Damascus would provide merchants and travellers with all their needs would be only a natural result of its important position and wide connections.[1] Cottons,[2] pearls and jewels,[3] sugar,[4] swords,[5] wools, slaves, glasswares,[6] silks and spices[7] were available. The activities of Damascus are appreciated when we remember that the city had 170 sūqs,[8] excluding those of the suburbs.

Ḥamā played a fairly important part in the commerce of Syria from the 5th (11th) century to the 9th (15th) century. Nasiri Khusrau,[9] Ibn Jubair,[10] Yaqūt,[11] Marāṣid,[12] Abul-Fidā[13] and Ibn Baṭūṭa[14] refer to the great markets. Brocquiere too found various things in the town, including his famous capinat.[15]

The part played by Ḥims was a little smaller than that of Ḥamā,[16] as the former suffered through the change of route in the 7th (13th) century. However in the 8th (14th) century Hims did not count for very much in the trade of Syria.[17]

It may be mentioned, en passant, that Jerusalem was not an important commercial center,[18] during the period.

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(1) Heyd, II, 612, citing Pegolotti. (2) Von Suchem,
(3) Heyd, II, 686, citing Pegolotti. (4) Brocq., 304.
(5) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 464.
(6) For various silks cloth produced in Damascus see Heyd., II, 695-710 pass. (7) Brocq., 295.
(8) Ibn 'Abdul-Hādi, cited by Zayat, Mash. XXXVII (1939), 22-7; Cf. Badrī 60-62. (9) Khus, 5.
(10) Ibn Jub., 255. (11) Yaq., II, 330-2.
(12) Mara., I, 318. (13) Abul Fidā, 262.
(14) Ibn Bat., I, 141. For the accounts of the last mentioned authorities, see Supra, C. II, 5.
(15) Brocq., 310-11. (16) Id. (J), I, 358.
(17) Abul Fidā, 260; Ibn Bat., I, 141; Brocq., 310; Qalq., IV, 113.
(18) Heyd, I, 175-6.

The two divisions of Syria, Muslim and Latin, were politically hostile. But hostility did not encroach on the economic fields. Not long after the occupation of the coast, the Crusaders and their allies from European cities, saw the advantage of concluding treaties for commercial transactions. The volume of trade exchanged was alarming to Ibn Jubair, who was surprised to see this kind of exchange of goods, between two warring camps.(1)

Ibn Jubair wrote after his visit to Syria shortly before Hittīn. After this battle hostilities between Muslims and Christians lasted till the Treaty of Ramla, 588/1192. It is significant that at the conclusion of the treaty it was announced in the Muslim camp that peace already existed between Muslims and Christians and whoever, of either party, wanted, could enter the lands of the others. Thus Muslims and Europeans mixed together; some Muslims went to Jaffa for commerce, and some Christians went to Jerusalem to perform their pilgrimage.(2)

But such were the relations between the two hostile camps. We have no reason to be surprised then at the large volume of trade carried between them.

Commercial contacts between the European trader and his oriental customer took place in the ports, such as at 'Akkā and Tyre under the Crusaders, and Bairūt and Tripoli later. Damascus and Aleppo, especially in the 7th (13th) century(3) were attractive to European merchants. In the earlier period of the Crusaders Damascus afforded a more convenient place, being both more central and nearer to the coast than, say, Aleppo.(4) In the latter period

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(1) Ibn Jubair, 287, 300-1, 302-3.
(2) Sulūk, I, 110.
(3) Heyd, I, 176-7.
(4) Ib., 174.

Aleppo captured many a trader.[1] In the 8th (14th) and 9th (15th) centuries Aleppo was more attractive for European traders than Damascus, where they were not so secure as in the northern city.[2]

That Italian traders secured concession in the ports and in Jerusalem under the Crusaders was only natural. In the 7th (13th) century two changes took place, which were of far reaching results. The first was that traders from Southern France and Spain[3] entered the field of economic activity in Syria. Tripoli had colonies of traders from Marseille and Montpellier.[4] The second, and more important, development was the establishment in the interior cities of commercial houses for the Italians. The treaties concluded between the Venitians and az-Zahir of Aleppo in 604/1207-8 secured for them a fondaco, a bath, and a church, and established the security of their persons and possessions, provided they paid 12% customs duty on incoming and outgoing goods, and 17 dirhams for each load of cotton.[5] In 622/1225 al-'Aziz of Aleppo granted them a reduction of the duty to 6%, and a guarantee of the property of deceased Venitian citizens.[6] This was confirmed in 627/1229 and the Venetians were allowed to establish a colony at Aleppo and had a special functionary appointed there to represent their interests.[7] An-Nāṣir confirmed these concessions in generous terms in 652/1254.[8]

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(1) Heyd, I. 177.
(2) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 464. Cf. Brocq, 295, on the position of Christians (i.e. Europeans).
(3) Heyd, I, 325, 329. (4) Ib., 324.
(5) Ib., 374-5, quoting Tafel and Thomson, II, 63 ff.
(6) Ib., 375.
(7) Ib., 376-377, citing Tafel and Thomson, II, 274-6, on Aleppo and/ Ladhiqiyya.
(8) Ib., 377, citing ib., III, 60-2. Heyd refuses the date suggested by them, namely, 1264, as an-Nāṣir was dead by then.

The destruction of the Crusading states towards the end of the 7th (13th) century brought a temporary standstill in trade relations. This was due to the papal attempts to stop any such dealings with the Muslims.[1] But the merchants knew only too well that they needed the merchandise that came from Asia via the trade routes which were controlled by the Mamlūks. So we find the Venitians, already in 704/1304 approach the governor of Safad for renewal of relations. It was at his recommendation that Qalawūn allowed them to consider themselves safe and protected, and were permitted to visit Jerusalem.[2] The displeasure of Rome was not disconcerting to them, and when the Pope permitted pilgrimage to the Holy City, the Venetians started trade connections as well.[3] By the middle of the 8th (14th) century as a result of a series of treaties concluded by the Venetians with the sultans of Egypt in 745/1344, 756/1355 and 763/1361,[4] Venetian traders established themselves in Bairūt,[5] Aleppo,[6] and Damascus.[7] The cypriots had khāns, baths and churches in Bairūt.[8] Von Suchem noted the presence of European merchandise in Damascus.[9] We may add here that Damascus received merchants from the east as well - from Persia, India, Irāq and other countries.[10] Aleppo could

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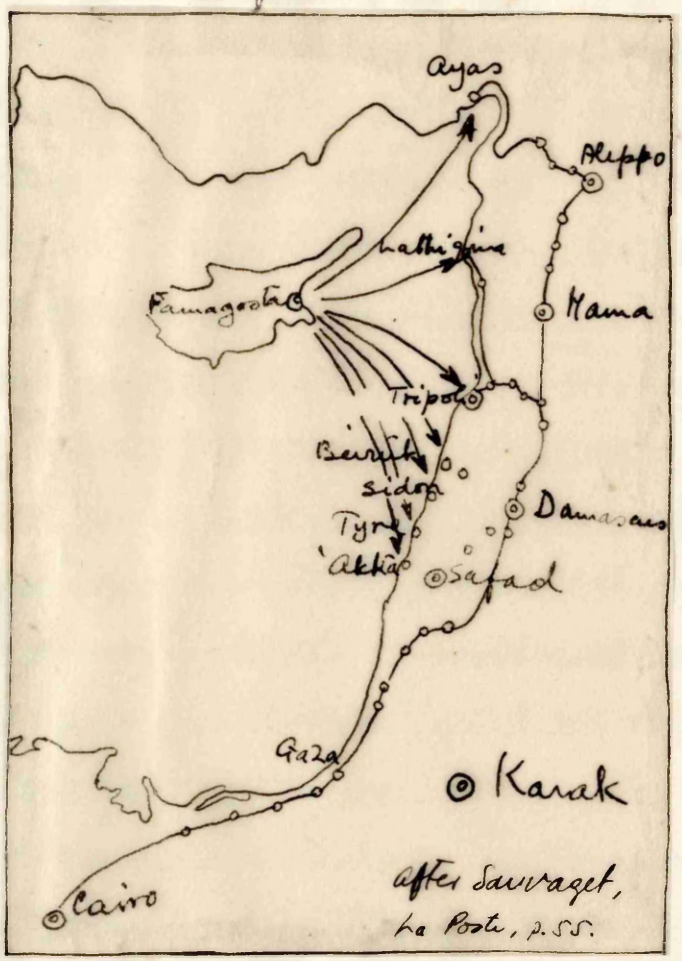
(1) Heyd, II, 25. Heyd draws his information from extracts collected in Raynald., Annal. ecc. for the year 1291, No. 27.
(2) Archives de l'Orient Latin, I, 406-8, where the letter sent by the Amīr of Safad is reproduced in translation. See also Heyd, II, 40-41.
(3) Heyd, II, 41 ff, where the question is fully discussed.
(4) Sauvaget, Alep, 164; Heyd, II, 49.
(5) Sālih, 39. (6) Sauvaget, Alep, 165.
(7) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 464. (8) Sālih, 39-40.
(9) Such., 129.
(10) Ib., Verona, 291; Maun., 190; Pogg., 77.

P. 234.

Routes of the Levant



after Savvaget,
La Poste, p. 55.

not have lagged behind its southern sister.[1] It was a center of Perso-Venitian trade.[2]

It is interesting to note that this position which Damascus and Aleppo held in the 8th (14th) century developed still more fully in the following century. Damascus was fortunate that Brocquiere visited it and left a full description of the activity of foreign merchants there, especially the French.[3] He mentions a Venetian consul at Damascus.[4] Bairūt too received an interesting account from his pen, the occasion being the celebration of 'Id al-Fitr.[5] He lodged there with a Venetian merchant.[6] But the activity of Aleppo is best illustrated by Ibn ash-Shihna who says that its markets sell in one day what other cities would not sell in one month,[7] According to him Aleppo was an important ~~city~~ fair market.[8]

We may end this brief survey of the economic activities of the Syrian towns by referring, in general terms, to the exports and imports of the country. Amongst the first we may mention candles which were sent to Cairo.[9] Fruits were exported to Egypt, from Bairūt[10] and Sidon.[11] Olive oil and soap found their way to Egypt as well.[12] Cotton of 'Izāz was exported to Morocco and Spain in the 8th (14th) century.[13] Arms were purchased by Europeans in Damascus.[14] But first and foremost it was sugar.[15]

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(1) Durr, 254.
(2) Sauvaget, Alep, 165.
(3) Brocq., 294.
(4) Ib., 302.
(5) Ib., 296.
(6) Ib., 297.
(7) Durr, 254.
(8) Ib.,
(9) Sulūk, II, 356.
(10) Ibn Bat., I, 133.
(11) Ib., 131-2.
(12) Melange, 1906, 315; Qalq., IV, 87; Ibn Bat., I, 145-6.
(13) Hasani, 126, quoting Ibn Fāṭima.
(14) Sulūk, I, 304.
(15) Heyd., II, 686.

cotton and silk textiles[1] that Syria exported to Europe, next to which came perfumes,[2] medicinal gums[3] and pestachios.[4]

Syria imported woollens, linens[5] and slaves[6] from the West, pearls, precious stones and spices[7] from the East. But this is not supposed to be an exhaustive list of either exports or imports.

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(1) Heyd., II 695ff; Fabri, III, 84.
(2) Durr, 251-2.
(3) Sauvaget, Alep. 165.
(4) Durr, 252.
(5) Heyd, II, 707-9. Heyd's authorities are numerous; it may be noted that some of them like Romanin, IV, 94f, refer to early 15th century.
(6) Hasani, 134.
(7) Heyd, II, 650, 651, 658-64.

II. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

(1) Weights, Measures and Coins

A local merchant carrying goods from one Syrian town to another, or bringing his products from a small town to the big city, must have been puzzled by the differences in weights and measures he encountered. In this section we have no intention of discussing this entangled problem; all we intend to do is to present it to the reader as one of the problems which the city faced.

Going from Aleppo in the north to Gaza in the south, we come across the following weights for a "ritl" given in dirhams (of weight):

Aleppo	720 (1)
Hamā	660 (2)
Hims	794 (3)
Tripoli	600 (4)
Damascus	600 (5)
Nablus, Jerusalem, Hebron	800 (6)
Gaza	720 (7)
'Ajlūn	1200 (8)

(1) A'lāq, 10b; Qalq., IV, 215. But 724 according to Shayzarī, 16.
(2) Shayzarī, 16; Ibn Bassām cited by Cheikho, Mashriq, X (1907), 1086; Ukh., 80.
(3) Bassām, ib.; Ukh. 80; but Shayzarī (16) - 864d.
(4) Qalq., IV, 233.
(5) Shayzarī, 16; Ibn Bassām, ib.; Qalq., IV, 181.
(6) Ukh., 81
(7) Ib.,
(8) Ib.,

This is for the weight itself in the bigger towns, we have not mentioned the smaller places, and their more various weights.[1] We must refer to another difficulty, in connection with weights, namely that a certain "ritl" may be used for one commodity only, such as the Nabulsi "ritl" for oil.[2] There was, too, a special weight called "al-mann" of 260 dirhams, used for perfumes etc.[3]

Yet the question of weights was a small one compared to that of measures for cereal. The various ritls had at least one unit, the dirham, and convertibility would not prove extremely difficult. But for cereals there does not seem to have existed a common ground. Muqaddasi gives the following list for measures used in Syria in his time:[4]

1 Kaylaja - 1½ sā's
1 Makkūk - 3 kaylajas
1 Wayba - 2 makkūks
1 Qafīz - 4 waybas

According to this list the larger measures when reduced to the smallest unit of sā' will be as follows:

1 Makkūk - 4½ sā's
1 Wayba - 9 "
1 Qafīz - 36 "

But on the same page he goes on to give a variety of measures which become muddling. He thus has:

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(1) See Mashriq, X (1907), 1086; Qawanīn, 360 note 12; Muqaddasi, 182.
(2) Muq., 182. This difference in the weight of a ritl persisted even to the present time, with slight differences. Palestine, for example, knew two ritls, a shāmī, with 800 dirhams and a Nābulsi with 900 dirhams. But Nablus itself had a heavier ritl for oil and cheese and Hebron had a special ritl for dibs (grape puree). Aleppo had a ritl with 1000 dirhams.
(3) Qawanīn, 362; Shayzarī, 16; Qalq., III, 445.
(4) Muq., 181.

1 Muda = 2/3 Qafīz = 24 ṣā's

again 1 Muda = 6 Kaylajas = 9 "

again 1 Qafīz = ½ Kaylaja = 1½ "

again 1 Qafīz = 1 Muda

and again 1 Kaylaja = 1 ṣā'.

Shayzarī gives a sunbul as his basic measure for Northern Syria and proceeds to compare the Qafīz of Shayzar (16 sunbuls) to that of Ḥamā and Ḥimṣ (14 sunbuls). Aleppo had a Makkūk (19 sunbuls).(1)

Qalqashandi gives the following for some Syrian cities:

Aleppo Makkūk,(2)

Damascus

1 Ghirāra = 12 Kayls

1 Kayl = 6 Mudds(3)

Tripoli Makkūk(4)

Ḥamā Makkūk(5)

The relationship between the measures of Aleppo and Damascus is expressed thus

1 Ghirāra = 2½ Makkūks of Aleppo(6)

1 Ghirāra = 2½ Makkūks of Ḥamā(7)

If, however, we try to relate some of the measures given by Muqaddasī we get more muddling results. Thus a Ghirara of Damascus is equal to $1\frac{1}{7}$ Qafīzes of Filastīn, i.e. 54 ṣā's,(8) while a Ghirāra

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(1) Shayzarī, 17 and notes.
(2) Qalq., IV, 215.
(3) Ib., 181, of Masālik in G-D. 137.
(4) Ib., 233.
(5) Ib., 237.
(6) Ib., 215.
(7) Ib., 237.
(8) Muq., 181.

of Damascus is, according to Qalqashandi, equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ (or $2\frac{1}{4}$) Makkūks.[1] Following Muqaddasi again we get that a Ghirara would be equal to $11\frac{1}{4}$ (or $10\frac{1}{2}$) ṣā's.

Not very comforting equations to us, what their effect on the man who had to deal with a variety of them, we can easily imagine.

For measures of lengths there were, generally speaking, two dhirā's, one for cloth and the other for land. But even this generalization did not reduce the difficulty. Qalqashandi, giving the dhirā' of Egypt as 24 qirāts, he says that the cloth dhirā' of Aleppo was 1/6 dhirā' longer[2] than the Egyptian, while the Damascene one was 1/12 longer than the Egyptian dhirā'.[3] Then 10 dh. in Tripoli were equal to 11 Egyptian dhirā's.[4] According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwa there were seven kinds of dhirā's used in the Muslim world.[5]

We hope we have presented the problem as one which must have bewildered merchants or else made them more dependent on local agents and auctioneers.[6]

Another matter which complicated commercial dealings in towns, although by no means hampered such dealings, was the question of coinage. From the very beginning the Islamic state had a dual currency; there was the gold dinār and the silver dirham. We are inclined to believe that the dinār was scarcer in the markets

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(1) Qalq., IV, 215-237.
(2) Ib., 215.
(3) Ib., 181.
(4) Ib., 233.
(5) Ukh., 87-8.
(6) For the thorny question of equalizing weights and measures see: Decourdmanche, Traite pratique; Sauvaire, Materiaux; Kirmili, Nuqūd. (See Bibliography.)

as gold was not easily obtainable. Thus it was the dirham which was the real currency; this applies at least to the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries.(1)

The relation between the dinar and dirham differed considerably. Under the Fatimīds a dinar was worth 15 then 34 and then 18 dirhams.(2)

Early in the 7th (13th) century a new dirham was struck, which came to be known as "nuqra". It had two-thirds silver and one-third copper.(3) This dirham officially known as al-Kāmilī, because it was struck under al-Kāmil, and dirham az-Zāhir Baybars(4) remained the official standards down to 781/1379.

Under the Mamlūks a dinār was generally worth 20 dirhams;(5) under Baybars it was equal to 28 dirhams;(6) and it was worth 25 dirhams early in the 8th (14th) century, and they were new dinārs.(7)

Besides there was a dirham known as al-aswad (black) which was worth only 1/3 dirham nuqra.(8)

In 781/1379 a new copper coin, "fils", was struck.(9) But fulūs never became a standard currency. Originally a "fils" was meant for the local market, and when first struck 48 filses were worth a dirham.(10) But it soon became debased,(11) so that

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(1) Ighātha, 66; Arabic Papyri, II, 221.
(2) Shudhūr, 11-2.
(3) Ighātha, 66; Shudhūr, 12.
(4) Baybars struck these coins with 70% silver and 30% silver, (Shudhūr, 13.).
(5) Qalq., III, 441; Sulūk, II, 320.
(6) Qalq., III, 442.
(7) Sulūk, II, 320.
(8) Qalq., III, 443.
(9) Shudhūr, 13; cf. Ighātha, 69-70.
(10) Ighātha, 70.
(11) Sulūk, II, 205; Shudhūr, 13; Ighātha, 66, 69-72. Damascus had Qaratīs, each worth 6 fulūs which were abolished in 720. Sulūk II, 205.

118 ritls (Egyptian) were worth 500 dirhams in value.[1]

The official army registers had a dinār called "al-Jayshī", which was used to estimate iqtā'āt. This was a nominal thing only. It was equal to one full dinār for the Turks, Kurds and Turkmen; for the Kittaniya and 'Asāqila it was worth ½ dinār and for the 'Urbān it was equal to 1/8 dinār only. People however seem to have accepted its value at 13 1/3 dirhams,[2] thus 2/3 a real dinār.

Foreign monies were accepted in Syria. Our sources refer to a dinār called al-ifrantī (ifransī), which was worth 17 dirhams.[3] Faraj (801/1398-808/1405), struck a similar dinār.[4]

Another coin was the Venetian ducat,[5] which was both of gold and silver.

The besant was used in Syria, and it was worth ten dirhams.

Considering the different systems of weights and measures and the various monetary systems which could exist within the walls of a big city like Aleppo or Damascus, we think that these matters were problems for the city. But here the people could do nothing. All matters were subject to the central authority.

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(1) Qalq., III, 444.
(2) Qawanīn, 369; Qalq., III, 442. Cf. Poliak, Feudalism, 21.
(3) Qalq., III, 441. (4) Ib.,
(5) Shudhūr, 13; Qalq., III, 441.

(2) Provisioning the Towns

Towns in Syria depended for their provisions on the neighbouring countryside. A fertile neighbourhood certainly satisfied an average town; but even a fertile neighbourhood could not supply a big city of the magnitude of Damascus or Aleppo. Therefore more provisions had to be carried from, more or less, far places. Thus Damascus needed the rice produced in the Hūla district near Banyās, and sugar was brought to the big city from Baisān and Tripoli.

But Syrian agriculture depended mainly on rainfall, and a failure in the rain would mean lack of essential commodities in the markets, and would lead to a sharp rise in prices. This was extenuated by the fact that as a result of the wars and campaigns of centuries the irrigation systems in the country had been destroyed. Again the peasant felt no real incentive for improvement or even hard work on the land, as he was there mainly as an instrument of the holder of an iqtā'.

If we accept the authority of 'Umarī and Qalqashandī we may reach at the following list of prices of essential commodities in the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries, in Syria.

Commodity	Unit	Price per dirhams
Wheat	Kayl	3-4
Barley	Kayl	2-2½
Rice	Kayl	4-5
Meat	Riṭl (Dam.)	2-3

Sugar	Ritl (Dam.)	7-10
Fowls	per one	2-4 (1)

With further calculation we reach at the following results, for ordinary prices:

	Per ritl (Dam.)	Dirhams
Bread	1	1/2
Rice	1	3/4 (2)

Before we proceed any further, we propose to give a list of prices showing sharp rises, in years of disasters.

		dir.
656/1258		
Aleppo	Wheat per kayl	40
	Barley " "	24
	One green (water) melon	30 (3)
658/1259		
Damascus	One ritl of bread	2 (4)

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(1) Qalq., III, 447 for prices in Egypt. Ib., IV, 182 for comparative prices in Damascus for the six commodities. For the average price of wheat in Egypt two other sources were used: Zettersteen, 36, where ordinary price for an irdubb of wheat is given at 20 dirhams for 694/1294; and Nujūm, VIII, 57, where 25 d. is given as the price of one irdubb. The ratio between prices of wheat and barley was deduced from Sulūk, I, 647, and II, 55. An irdubb is approximately 6 kayls (see Qalq., IV, 181.)

(2) An irdubb was 22,272 dirhams by weight (Qalq., III, 445). A kayl would be 3712 dirhams; a mudd was then 613 dirhams, only 13 dirhams more than a ritl (Damascus). A ritl of wheat would average 2/3 dirham (coins) and as one ritl of wheat produced 1 1/2 ritls of bread, a ritl of bread came to about 4/9 of a dirham.

(3) Sulūk, I, 409.

(4) Mufazzal, 72.

659/1260

			dirhams
Aleppo:	Meat	per ritl	70
	Sugar	" "	100
	Honey	" "	50
	One fowl		20
	One egg		1½
	One onion		½
	One cheese		½
	One apple		5
	One bundle of greens		1
	8 sheep		900 (1)
	4 cows		6000

660/1261

Damascus:	Wheat per kayl	37.5 (2)

695/1295

Damascus:	Wheat per kayl	37.5
	bread 5 iwqia (3)	1

In Jerusalem, Nablus and Hawrān a man paid 1/4 d. to get a drink of water for himself, and paid one dirham for his animal to get a drink.(4) Maqrīzī adds the price of meat which was 4 1/2 d. per ritl. He however gives about 14 dirhams for a kayl of wheat.(5)

699/1299

	dirhams	
Wheat per kayl	400	360
Meat per ritl	10	12
Bread per ritl	2½	1
Cheese per iwqia	1	-

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(1) Mufazzal, 72. (2) Sulūk, I, 466.
(3) Iwqia = 1/12 of a ritl.
(4) Zettersteen, 37. On p. 61 he gives the price of bread at 2d. per ritl. For the same period the rise in Egypt was from 20d. to 120 then to 180 per irdubb (Zett., 36) Cf. Nujūm VIII, 57 where the rise is from 25 to 120 to 160 for the same year.
(5) Sulūk, I, 815.

Eggs per five	1 (1)	-
Eggs per four	-	1
Oil per riṭl	-	6
Barley per kayl	-	15 (2)

743/1342

Bairūt:	dirhams
Flour per kayl	18
Barley per kayl	10
Bread per 2/3 riṭl	1
Onions per riṭl	4
Vinegar per riṭl	4
Oil per riṭl	6
Cheese per riṭl	4 (3)

748/1347

Wheat per kayl	24
Bread per riṭl	1
Oil per riṭl	4½
Sesame-oil per riṭl	4½
Soap per riṭl	3
Rice per riṭl	3
Qanbarīs (4) per riṭl	3
Meat per riṭl	2¼ (5)

(1) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 10.
(2) Sulūk, I, 893. In the year 700/1300 two sheep were sold for 500 dirhams (Ibn Kathīr, Ib, 16.)
(3) Sālih, 106.
(4) Qanbarīs is a kind of dried cheese which is still made in parts of Syria.
(5) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 224. Ibn Kathīr remarks that meat only remained at a normal price.

765/1363

	dirhams
Dibs per qintār	200
Rice per qintār	over 200 (1)

777/1375

Damascus:

Wheat per kayl	27½
Barley per kayl	16 2/3
Meat per riṭl	3 - 5

Aleppo:

Bread per riṭl	6 (2)

789/1387

Damascus:

Bread per riṭl	1

Jerusalem:

One farra of water	½ (3)

790/1388

Palestine:

Wheat per kayl	25 (4)

Summing up the rise in prices (5) from the cases we have just tabulated, we have the following:

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(1) Ib., 308, A qintār is 100 riṭls.
(2) I'lām, 78 a-b.
(3) Ibn Furāt, IX, 7. (4) Ib., 25.
(5) The rise here is taken as compared with the general calculation of prices reached at above.

Ratios of rise to ordinary prices.

Year	Place	Wheat	Barley	Rice	Meat	Sugar	Fowls
622	N.E.Syria (1)			4			
656	Aleppo	11	10				
658-60	Damascus Aleppo	10			18	25	6
695	Damascus	8					
699-700	Damascus	8½	6		5		
743	Bairūt	5	4½				
748-9	Damascus	7			1		
765	Damascus			3½			
777	Damascus	9	7		2		
789-790	Damascus Jerusalem	7					

The years mentioned above represent:

(a) Years of famines due to droughts: 656, 743, 756 (locusts visited the country), 777, 789, 790.

(b) Plague: 694-5.

(c) Campaigns: 658-60 (Mongols), 699-700 (Ghazān) (2).

The rise of the price of wheat may be attributed to the fact that in cases of droughts the peasants held their products from the markets and retained them for their own use. In cases of campaigns the peasants either feared the disturbed condi-

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(1) Ibn Athīr, XII, 172-3, gives the prices for the year 622/1225, and compares few with what they had been before the rise. The list shows the following

Sesame oil	rose	4 times
Salt	"	10 "
Dated	"	2½ "
Rice	"	4 "

(2) See Supra C. I, 8.

tions and so kept their produce for the following year, or else the produce was confiscated by the invading forces.

The rise in the price of meat to 18 times in 658-60 may be explained by the fact that many animals were confiscated by the Mongols. Probably the same invasion upset the transport of sugar that its price rose to 25 times in Aleppo.

We have been unable to trace state measures to alleviate the plight of the people of Syria. Probably historians never bothered as long as such measures were followed in Egypt.(1) We cannot believe that the governors never lifted a finger when famines or plagues visited the country. One reference, however, to the year 659/1260, when Baybars distributed large quantities of seeds to the peasants,(2) so that they may sow their lands, is very interesting.

Again in 748/1349, when locusts appeared in Northern Syria between Manbij and al-Bāb the army of Aleppo went out to fight the locusts;(3) they were accompanied by the farmers.

But the state saw that citadels were well provided for. Thus Baybars, when preparing for his campaigns against the Crusaders, he saw that the citadels "were well provided with foodstuffs".(4) And when in 736/1335 Egypt suffered badly because the Nile failed, the sultān ordered that "foodstuffs kept in Gaza, Karak, Shawbak and the country of Damascus, should be carried to Cairo".(5)

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(1) On measures of relief for Egypt see Ighātha, 18ff; Nujūm, VII, 213.
(2) Sulūk, I, 446.
(3) Ibn Wardī, II, 345.
(4) Sulūk, I, 446.
(5) Ib., II, 394f, 409.

Leaving all these considerations aside, the city as such constituted, even in ordinary times, a problem as far its provisioning was concerned. Needless to say a great deal of its needs, especially in durable material, was supplied by international trade, if we are permitted to use the word. But essentially the surveyors of the towns were the country people. And the state, represented by the muḥtasib, saw that the consumer was protected, not against the producer, but against the intermediary. Thus monopolies, i.e. the hoarding of quantities of foodstuffs for times of need, was strictly forbidden.(1) Again people bringing their products into the towns were not to be met outside the walls of the city to have their goods purchased from them.(2) Goods had to be sold within the town and through "dallāl" (auctioneer).(3)

The muḥtasib may not impose prices on commodities, except, apparently, in times of troubles.(4)

Within the city itself the thing that mattered most for the people was bread. Here al-muḥtasib was to see that grain merchants and millers supplied bakers with a regular amount of flour,(5) and that bakers baked and offered for sale a definite quantity of bread, so that everybody secured his needs.(6)

But the cases cited were not the only ones. Altogether, from the people's point of view, the muḥtasib was there to

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(1) Shayzarī, 12, 21; Ukh., 65; Ibn Taymiyya, Hisba, 42, 54.
(2) Shayzarī, 13; Ukh., 67.
(3) Shayzarī, 64; Ukh., 135; Ibn Taymiyya, Hisba, 42. Cf. Manual, 60.
(4) Shayzarī, 12; Ukh., 64; Ibn Taymiyya, Hisba, 43, 51.
(5) Shayzarī, 21; Ukh., 90.
(6) Shayzarī, 23, 24; Ukh., 91-2.

protect them against fraud; he was constantly inspecting the goods, and enforcing the laws and regulations.(1)

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(1) It is of great interest to notice the similarity of measures taken for the protection of the "burgesses" in Medaeval Europe. See Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Med. Europe, 174ff.

C H A P T E R S I X

S O C I A L I N S T I T U T I O N S

I. MOSQUES
II. SCHOOLS
III. BIMĀRISTĀNS
IV. RIBĀTS AND ṬARĪQAS
V. GUILDS
VI. FUTUWWA

I. MOSQUES

The building of mosques was very active during the period under discussion. A mere reference to the numbers shows that. According to Ibn Shaddād, Aleppo had within the walls, 215 mosques and two jāmi's.(1) But these jami' mosques became 20 in number by the time of Ibn Ash-Shihna,(2) and there were 20 mosques outside the walls where the Friday prayers were held.(3) Damascus had, early in the tenth (16th) century, 248 mosques, inside the walls.(4)

Many of these mosques served only the local people of a small hāra. But even if a small number were centres of active teaching, discussions, studies and so on, they would be an influential factor in the social life of the city. Besides mosques were places of recreation for many people, a recreation which was certainly to their advantage.

Ibn Jubair said of the Umayyad Mosque, "It (the court) is the meeting place of the people of the town. Especially in the evening they meet there and stroll chatting to one another. This takes place daily."(5)

Al-'Umari has left us an interesting description of the activities carried out in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus c. 740 A.H.

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(1) A'lāq, I, 20-2.
(2) Durr, 71.
(3) Ib., 74.
(4) Thimār, 96. Irbillī (d.726/1325) said that Damascus had two jāmi's and its suburbs had seven (Irbillī, 17-8).
(5) Ibn Jubair, 266, 271-2. cf. Ibn Batūtah, I, 210-2.

He says, "This mosque is full of people during day and ends of the night, because people go through it to schools, sūqs and houses. In it one finds more than in any other mosque imāmas, readers (of the Qur'an), shaykhs of knowledge and teaching, leaders of fatwa and people learned in the hadīth (traditions), besides mujawirīn (dwellers in the mosque) and pious men. Its (the mosque's) times are always full with goodness and prayers. One hardly sees it void of a worshipper, a mediator, a chanter of the Qur'an, a mu'zzin (caller to prayer), reader in book of science, an enquirer about a religious matter, an expositor of a sectarian problem, or a seeker for a solution of a problem. Some people come in search of a chat, or to meet a friend, or to stroll in its court, enjoying the beauties of the moon and stars. The spacious court, the fresh air and the coolness of its passages in time of excessive heat are all attractive to the people."(1)

The Jāmi' of Aleppo was mentioned in a long poem in which a reference to the literary circle which was held there was made.(2)

Al-Aqsa of Jerusalem was an important centre both of education and social life.

But one is bound to ask of the real social function the mosque performed then. The mosque was there to allow people to perform their religious duties; then it was there, as the school was, to see that sunna was kept intact. So any active discussion must centre around this question and lead to that result. The state controlled the mosque because it could not afford to allow it to go its independent way. It became as much a binding force to the state as best it could do in the circumstances.

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(1) Masalik (Z), 202-3. Foreigners sometimes found refuge in the mosque. There was such a large number of them in the Umayyad Mosque at the times of Baybars that he ordered them to clear out, (665/1266) (Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 249).

(2) Durr, 70.

II. SCHOOLS

The madrasa (school) forces itself upon us in a survey of the social institutions. The number of schools which Syria knew, and especially the large cities, is certainly surprising. Ibn Shaddād gives full lists of the schools in Aleppo and Damascus, a numerical summary of which is reproduced now

	Aleppo (1)	Damascus (2)
Shāfi'ī	20	35 (3)
Hanafī	21	34 (4)
Hanbalī	4 (5)	8 (6)
Common	-	7 (7)
Dār al-hadīth	6	-
Medical	-	2 (8)
T o t a l :	51	86 (9)

(1) A'lāq (MS), I, 29a-34b.cf. Durr 109-124, 232-4.
(2) Ib., III, 73b-106a.Cf. Ibn Batutah, I, 218-20.
(3) Irbillī (d.726/1325),gives 43 Shafi'ī schools in Damascus, (p.14). Nu'aymī,Dāris,I,129-468, discusses 63 shafi'ī schools which Damascus knew down to the early years of the 10th (16th) century. But some of these schools had already ceased to exist in his time.
(4) Irbillī, 14, gives 31 hanafī schools. Nu'aymī,Dāris,I,473-639, discusses 49 hanafī schools, but again many must have ceased to exist when he wrote. In addition he refers to 3 schools as common between shafi'īs and hanafīs (ib., 473, 496, 548).
(5) Including Malikī schools in Aleppo.
(6) Irbillī, 14, gives 10 hanbalī schools. This may mean a growing influence of the Hanbalīs in Damascus.
(7) Irbillī, 14, mentions four Malikī schools.
(8) Irbillī, ib., mentions three medical schools. But he gives no details.
(9) Jerusalem, according to Mujīr ad-Dīn, II, 385ff, had 36 schools, including dār al-qur'ān and dār al-Hadīth. The finest, to his mind, was at-Tankiziyya built in 729/1328 (ib., 387).

These are schools pure and simple; thus teaching carried out at the mosques or zawiyas, and ribāts is not included.

The Ayyubīds[1] and the Mamlūks inherited many a Fatimid institution, and not the least amongst them were the schools. They built as many as they could, encouraged others to build them and saw that they were well provided for.[2] A waqf for a madrasa provided for the teachers, who were sometimes as many as 30 altogether;[3] for water and light[4] and furniture.[5] In order to provide for these and various other matters, such as money and bread for students,[6] a rich waqf was needed. One of the poorest school-waqfs we came across was the rent of one house. It is from the year 595/1198, in Jerusalem[7]. But more often we meet with a waqf for a school comprising a sūq, a bath, and various other sources in villages.[8]

We are, fortunately, in possession of a large number of waqf deeds which have come down to us, and a few examples will not be out of place here.

Al-Madrasa ar-Riḥāniyya, founded in 575/1178 had as awqāf two orchards, a piece of land, two juras (vegetable gardens), ½ and 1/3 of ar-Riḥāniyya (a few mile to the south of Damascus), and a stable.[9]

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(1) Abū Shāma, Rawḍateyn, I, 14, says of Nūr ad-Dīn, "Bilād ash-Shām had been void of learning and the learned, and in his time it became a residence of savants, jurisconsults and sufis, because he interested himself in the building of schools and ribats, and the settlement of their (the men's) affairs."
(2) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 28, 227.
(3) Ib., 184.
(4) Rep. IX, p.220, No.3514.
(5) IFD, II (1932), 6-7. An inscription from Madrasa 'Umariyya, Damascus, year 821/1418.
(6) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 321.
(7) Rep., IX, p.220, No.3514.
(8) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 184, waqf of as-Sukkariyya.
(9) Dāris, I, 523, copying an inscription on its entrance.

In 603/1206 Jamāl ad-Dawla founded two schools, one for Shafi'Is, and it was the bigger, and the other for the hanafIs.(1) Nu'aymī(2) gives a list of the awqāf of al-Iqbaliyya al-Hanafiyya as ⅙ of a village, 1/3 of a farm, 1/3 of another farm and one qirāt (e.e.1/24) from the salt-pan of Zar'. Abū Shāma considers this as the smaller school and was only endowed with 1/3 of Iqbāl's possessions.(3) This gives us an idea as to the share of ash-Shafi'iyya.

Al-Madrasa ash-Shamiyya al-Juwwaniyya, originally founded by Sitt ash-Shām,(4) was endowed, in 628/1230 with a house, a village, 11.5/24 of Jurmāna in Bayt Lahya, and 14/24 of Tīna village.

In the case of this School the professor drew 130 dirhams a month, a ghirara of wheat and another of barley. The nāzir was to get 10% of the income for his "toil, attention and supervision of the waqf estates." 800 dirhams were to be spent annually to provide sweetmeats, melons and apricots on the night of the 15th of Sha'bān.(5) An interesting thing in this waqf was that the nāzir was at liberty to increase the teaching strength and other appointments, if the waqf grew in value.(6)

Al-Badriyya, founded in 638/1240 had one half of a village bath, and an orchard for its waqf.(7)

Al-Madrasa al-'Aṣrūniyya in Damascus, founded in 656/1258 had a waqf including a bath in Damascus, Barqūm (near Aleppo), a land and Bath in Busra, Kāmid (in Bikā'), and share in Bayt ad-Dayr village.(8)

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(1) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 59. Iqbāl died in 604/1207.
(2) Dāris, I, 474, copying the inscription on its entrance.
(3) Abū Shāma, ib.
(4) Dāris, I, 300-1. On Sitt ash-Shām see Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 119.
(5) Dāris, ib., 303.
(6) Ib.
(7) Ib., 411.
(8) Rep., XII, p.19, No.4427; Dāris, I, 368, quoting Ibn Qādī Shuhba.

Al-'Imadiyya (Damascus) had an income of 1072 dirhams in 865/1460.[1]

The buildings which housed these madrasas were enormous and beautiful. Ibn Jubair was very much attracted by an-Nūriyya of Damascus,[2] and by schools of Aleppo.[3] Schools built later, under the Mamlūks were real edifices of learning. Az-Zāhiriyya, which still stands in Damascus, is an excellent example of a school of the period.[4]

Each school had its nāẓir, whose duties included the supervision and administration of its waqf, the keeping of its accounts, and spending the income in accordance with the stipulations of the waqf.[5] The nāẓir was always a learned man, as often a qāḍī al-Quḍāt himself. He took part in the teaching.

The staff included muḥaddiths , qāri's of al-qur'ān, faqīhs, shaykh an-naḥw.[6] Some schools had shaykh ifādāt al-'ulūm.[7]

Subjects taught were mostly religious. We know a few cases where arithmetic[8] and logic,[9] were taught in Damascus.[10]

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(1) Dāris, I, 412.
(2) Ibn Jubair, 284.
(3) Ib., 253.
(4) See EI art.Masdjid, F.2.
(5) Dāris, I, 249, quotes a letter of appointment addressed to al-Fakhr al-Misrī,on his appointment as nāzir of ad-Dawla'iyya in 743/1342.
(6) Dāris,passim.See also Rep.XII,p.168,No.4651;Ibn Kathīr,XIV, 184.
(7) Ibn Kathīr,XIV, 33-4.
(8) Imād ad-Dīn ibn aṣ-Ṣāyigh d.674/1275 knew Arithmetic well. He taught at al-'Adhrawiyya (Dāris, I, 376).
(9) Jamāl ad-Dīn ibn ar-Rahawi,taught at al-Barraniyya, read "usūl and(logic) mantiq and was interested in Arithmetic. He died in 777/1375 (Daris, I,286). There is no definite statement of teaching arithmetic. It is interesting to note, however, that Ibn as-Salāh, Shaykh of Dār al-Hadīth al-Ashrafiyya, who d.643/1245, never permitted anybody in Damascus to study "logic and philosophy." Kings obeyed him (Dāris,I,21)
(10) On the teaching of medicine see below, this chapter, section on bimaristāns.

III. BIMĀRISTĀNS

Damascus: When Ibn Jubair visited Damascus, late in the 6th (12th) century, he found two bimāristāns there - the Old and the New (1) (an-Nūrī). An-Nūrī built by Nūr ad-Dīn, (2) was one of the finest hospitals. (3) Ibn Qādī Ba'lbeck increased its size and enlarged many of its halls, when he became the head of the medical profession in 635/1237. (4) The hospital was still in very good condition in the time of Ibn Kathīr, in the 8th (14th) century. (5) Aẓ-Ẓāhirī said that he never saw a similar hospital. (6)

In addition to the Nūrī and al-'Atīq, and contemporary with the former, there was Bimāristān Bāb al-Barīd. (7)

Ibn Kathīr says that in the year 764/1362 the repair of al-Bimāristān ad-Diqāqī was completed, by as-Ṣāḥib Taqiyy ad-Dīn Ibn Marājil. (8)

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(1) Ibn Jubair, 283. Qalānisī,6, when discussing the events of the year 363/973,refers to al-Bimāristān al-'Atiq. Ibn al-'Imād,Shadharāt,cited by 'Īsā, Tārīkh al-Bimāristānāt,205), speaks of al-Māristān as-Saghīr, which was older than an-Nūrī. Al-Akhnāwī,according to the same authority turned as-Saghīr into a house.

(2) Usaybi'a,II, 155; Ibn Kathīr, XII, 280-1.

(3) Ibn Jubair, 283.

(4) Usaybi'a, II,260. It had been effected by the earthquake of 597/120((Abū Shama, Dhayl,20),and Ibn al-Qādī repaired it.

(5) Ibn Kathir,XII,280-1, "Fires have never been extinguished in it since its foundation and down to our own days."

(6) Cited, 'Īsā, Tārīkh al-Bimāristānāt, 210.

(7) Usaybi'a, II, 266, in the biography of 'Izz ad-Dīn as-Suwaydī,says that he was a physician at an-Nūrī and at the Bimāristān in Bāb al-Barīd. According to the same authority (ib.), Rashīd ad-Dīn 'Alī was appointed by al-'Ādil a physician to the "two maristāns in Damascus which had been endowed (waqafahumā) by Nūr ad-Dīn". Which one is the other (besides the New) is not clear.

(8) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 298.

As-Sālihiyya had its own hospital. Al-Qaymarī, who died in 654/1256, built this bimāristān which bore his name.(1)

Al-Kutubī says of 'Abdul-Wahhāb ... ibn Ṣahyūn that he was a physician of a bimāristān at an-Nayrab.(2)

Aleppo: Nūr ad-Dīn built a bimāristān in Aleppo, which bore his name.(3) Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn ibn al-'Azīz Muḥammad added a hall for women in 655/1257.(4)

Arghūn al-Kamilī built al-Bimāristān al-Jadīd (New) or al-Arghūnī, in 755/1355.(5)

Jerusalem: Saladīn built a bimāristān in the Holy City when he captured it in 583/1187,(6) one of its physicians was Ya'qūb ibn Saqlāb (Saqlān).(7)

Ḥamā had a hospital which existed in the times of Ibn Jubair.(8) It existed in the days of Ibn ash-Shihna.(9)

Al-'Umarī says of Tripoli that it had two maristāns.(10)

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(1) Ib., XIII, 195. This bimāristān was still in existence in the middle of the 9th (15th) century ('Imād, Shadharat, VII, 288-9).
(2) Fawāt (Cairo, 1299), II, 20. He died in 694/1294. Nayrab is a village near Damascus (Yāqūt, IV, 855).
(3) Durr, 230. Bischoff, Tuhaf al-Anbā' fī Tarīkh Halab ash-Shahbā, p.140, has copied the inscription which says that it was built by Nūr ad-Dīn, with 'Utba al-Mawsilī as supervisor of works.
(4) Inscription cited by Ghazzī, II, 64.
(5) Durr, 234-5. See Bischoff, 140 for inscription. Ib. citing Durrat al-Aslāk. Ghazzī, II, 66, says that there were two other bimāristāns in Aleppo, one attached to Banū ad-Daqqāq, which later was added to the house of Sodon ad-Duwadār, which stood to the west of al-Madrasa al-Hallāwiyya, and which was the residence of high state officials. The other stood near the northern entrance to the Jāmi'. This bimāristān is usually attributed to Ibn Khurkhar (cf. Tabbākh, I'tam, IV, 197, where the name is given Ibn Khurkhāz).
(6) 'Aqd al-Jumān, and Nuwayrī, cited by 'Isā, Tārīkh al-Bimāristānāt, 231.
(7) Qifti (Cairo, 1326), 248.
(8) Ibn Jubair, 255.
(9) Durr, 268.
(10) Cited in Durr 263 and by G-D., 112. Qalqashandi, IV, 113, says that Tripoli had one maristān.

Ḥiṣn al-Akrād had a bimāristān built there in 719/1319, by Baktamur ibn 'Abdullah al-Ashrafī.[1]

Tinkiz gave Ṣafad a bimāristān, in the 8th (14th)century.[2]

Al-Karak owed its bimāristān to Sinjar al-Jāwilī, who built it in 711/1311.[3] It was the same man who gave Gaza its bimāristan.[4]

Muhammad ibn Fadl allah al-Qibṭī, built a bimāristān at Ramla and another at Nablus,[5]

Even places like Ruḥba[6] and Raqqa[7] had each its bimāristān.

This shows how far bimāristāns were of interest to the men of the State. Builders of hospitals, like builders of schools, saw that enough income was secured for their maintenance. Thus large waqfs were usually left with the building.

Nūr ad-Dīn left for his Aleppo bimāristān, the village of Mi'rāthā half of the farm of Wādī al-'Asal of Jabal Sim'ān, five faddāns (acres) of the farm of Kafr Naya, one-third of the farm of Khālidī and its mill, one-eighth of the mill outside Bāb al-Jinān, eight faddāns (acres) of the farm of Abu Madayā of 'Izāz, five faddāns of the farm of al-Ḥamīra, 12 faddans of the farm of Firzil, one-third of the village of Bayt Rā'il, ten shops in Sūq Bāb al-Hawa and land outside Bāb Antākiyya, Bāb al-Faraj and Bāb al-Jinān.[8]

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(1) Inscription cited by 'Īsa, Tārīkh al-Bimāristānāt, 248.
(2) Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 187; Durar, I, 522.
(3) Durar, II, 171.
(4) A'yān al-'Asr of Safadī, cited by 'Īsā, Tārīkh al-Bimāristānāt,247.
(5) Durar, IV, 138. He died in 732/1331, (ib.).
(6) Tārīkh al-Badr (MS), 31b.
(7) Usaybi'a, II, 259.
(8) Durr, 231.

Of the waqfs of an-Nūrī in Damascus we know the villages of Madyar and Misrēba[1] and Khān at-Tawba.[2]

Bimaristan al-Qaymarī was well provided for by its builder. Altogether there were two complete villages, parts in various villages amounting to 2⅛ villages, three dayrs with their water-mills, 35 shops, one stable, two khāns, ½ of the income of his shares in the Jawlan and a number of musaqqafat (roofed buildings).[3]

A part of the inscription of Baktamur's Bimāristān at Hisn al-Akrād shows that its waqf included a house and ⅔ of a shop.[4]

Al-Arghūnī in Aleppo had the village of Binish.[5]

Each bimāristān was divided into two sections, one for men and the other for women.[6] There were wards for internal diseases,[7] surgery and eye diseases.[8] Lunatics had their own section.[9]

Wards were supervised by specialists, who in turn reported to the nāzir, whose appointment was made after much deliberation. His order of appointment contained many injunctions as to how he should deal with his patients.[10]

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(1) Ibn Tulun, Kitāb al-Qalā'id al-Jawhariyya, fol.198-9, cited by Munajjid in Mash., XLII (1948), 46.
(2) Rep., XII, p.8, No.4411.
(3) Inscription on the facade of the bimāristān, quoted fully by 'Isa, Tārīkh al-Bimāristānāt, 238-40.
(4) This part of the inscription is quoted by 'Isa, ib., 250. Apparently later Maryam, wife of Ibn al-Masrurī, endowed the hospital with 14 shares of an orchard in as-Sahhāra village, (ib.).
(5) Durr, 235. Cf. Tabbākh, I'lām an-Nubalā', IV, 197-8, where Kunūz adh-Dhahab is cited as saying after Binish, "waghayraha", (and others).
(6) Most of our information on the internal organization of bimāristān applies to the earlier part of the 7th (13th) century, because of the lack of information on subsequent periods.
(7) Ussybi'a I, 309, mentions a newly born baby, at an-Nūrī, Damascus, which implies a ward for women; Ghazzī, II, 84, quotes an inscription about the addition of a ward for women to an-Nūrī of Aleppo; Kitāb al-Jawāmi' wal-Madāris, speaking of al-Qaymari's waqfs and expenses, speaks (of al-Qaymari) definitely of "sick and mad women" (cited by M.K. (Ali, Khitāb ash-Shām, VI, 163.
(8) Ussybi'a, II, 242-3, wards for mahmūmīn (sick with fever) and mamrurin (suffering from gall-bladder and liver troubles) who suffer from manic (called by Ussybi'a "junūn sab'i" - weekly fits). cf. ib. 260, where qa'āt (halls) were added by Ibn Qādī Ba'lback.
(9) Ibn Jubair, 283. (10) Qalq., XII, 84.

Ibn Jubair said of the New Bimāristān in Damascus, that, "its daily expenses ran to 15 dīnārs. The superintendents keep records of the patients, their ailments, medicines and diets. Physicians come early to the bimāristān to visit the patients and prescribe necessary treatment.(1)

Running a bimāristān was an expensive matter. It had a large number of attendants.(2) Al-Qaymarī had the following people working in it.

	Salary p.m. dirhams	Rations in ghirārs of wheat p.m.
Physicians	60 -70 (each)	½ to 1
Superintendent	40	½
Oculist	45	½
	13	1/6
3 men-servants	13 (each)	1/6
Women - attendants (no limited number)	10 (each)	1/6
Men who prepares medicines	26	1/3
Chief-superintendent of the waqf	60	1 (and one gh. of barley)
Imām	40	1/3
Architect	13	1/6
Porter	8	1/6

Nāzir of the bimāristān to receive altogether 10% of the income.(3)

Arghūn added, to the usual medical attendance, men to read the Qur'ān.(4)

The nāzir of the bimāristān was an especially chosen person. The earlier practice, under Nūr ed-Dīn, was that the nāzir would be the qādī ash-shāfi'ī.(5) But later on, under the Mamlūks, the nāzir was either the nāyib (or kāfil) himself, or somebody he chooses. In 754/1352 Kāfil al-Mamleka al-Hamawiyya was charged with the supervision of the bimāris-

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(1) Ibn Jubair, ib. An-Nūrī, Damascus, had its out-patient department too, (Usaybi'a, II, 243).
(2) Usaybi'a, II, 155.
(3) Kitāb al-Jawāmi' wal-Madāris, cited M.K.Alī, Khitat ash-Shām, VI, 163.
(4) Kunūz adh-Dhahab, cited Tabbakh, I'lam an-Nubalā', IV, 198.
(5) Sakhāwī, at Tibr al-Masbūk, 22; cf. Sauvaget, IFD, XII 1947-48, 36-7.

tān and its waqf.[1] Arghūn stipulated that the nāẓir (controller) of the bimāristān "Kāfil mamlakat Halab".[2]

Both Qalqashandi[3] and aẓ-Ẓāhirī[4] emphasize the post of a nāẓir of a bimāristān.

Al-bimāristān an-Nūrī, Damascus, had a medical school attached to it.[5] Men working at the bimāristān and lecturing as well, must have done some contribution to the medical knowledge, especially as they were not bound to follow a certain prescribed line of thought. Ibn al-Mutran had a library of about 10,000 volumes.[6]

But that was not the only centre of medical studies. Ibn 'Alī, ad-Dakhwār, left his house to be used as medical school, and left many lands for the running expenses of the teacher and his assistants.[7] Late in the century al-Jamāl al-Muḥaqqiq was shaykh of ad-Dakhwariyya, and visited the sick at an-Nūrī, according to the practice of the age.[8]

Besides physicians taught medicine at their own homes. Dakhwar himself did that,[9] and Rashīd ad-Dīn 'Alī ibn Khalīfa held courses at his home.(10)

Thus in as far as medical knowledge is of social value, and its advancement is a social force in the life of a country, the bimāristān, unhampered by convention or legalism, was a centre of this advancement.

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(1) Inscription from Hamā (754) quoted by Sauvaget, BED, XII (1947-8), 36.
(2) Kunūz adh-Dhahab, cited by Tabbākh, I'lām, IV, 198.
(3) Qalq., IV, 184, 220; VI, 168; XI, 117; XII, 84.
(4) Zub.(R), 110.
(5) Usaybi'a, II, 155, 242-3, where Muhadhdhab ad-Din is referred to. See also ib., 266.
(6) Ib., 178. Dr. Ahmed 'Īsā has counted at least 36 books of medicine produced by the physicians of an-Nūrī (Damascus), see his Histoire des Bimaristans, 101f.
(7) Usaybi'a, ib., 244.
(8) Dāris, I, 173.
(9) Usaybi'a, ib.
(10) Ib., 250.

IV. RIBĀṬS AND ṬARĪQAS

Syrian cities had a large number of ribāṭs, zāwiyas and khanqās. In chapter III, §6 we gave the numbers which were mentioned by Ibn Shaddād. Irbillī says that Damascus had 45 khanqas and ribāṭs of which 27 were inside the walls.(1) Nu'aymī gives a larger number. In his time Damascus had 23 ribāṭs, 29 khanqās and 26 zāwiyas.(2) This means a gradual and steady increase of such institutions.

Ribāṭs were originally places where defenders of the faith gathered.(3) Thus they were of military origin. Khanqās were especially for the ṣūfīs.(4) Zāwiyas, if we understand the references of Ibn Jubair,(5) were places for religious people to live in. Those people were mainly foreigners. But by the time of the Early Mamlūks there was not much difference between the one and the other,(6) and the application of the term monasteries for the three kinds is justified.(7)

However it was not only men who dwelt in those institutions.(8) There were especial ones for women.

Ibn Jubair gives a fine description of some khanqās in Damascus. They were palatial buildings which reminded one of Paradise.(9) One of them was known as al-Qaṣr (the Palace), as it was a magnificent edifice.(10) People living in them had nothing to worry about - they were amply provided for. So they devoted their time to religious practices and ṣūfī learning.(11)

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(1) Irbillī, 15-16.
(2) Cited in E I, art. Masdjid.
(3) E I, art. Ribāṭ.
(4) E I, art. Masdjid.
(5) Ibn Jubair, 240, 245, 266. Thikr was usually held at a zāwiya.
(6) Irbillī was khānqās for men and ribats for women (p.15-6).
(7) Ibn Jubair uses ribāṭ and khānqā as one, see 284.
(8) Rep.XII, p.19, No.4427; p.21, No.4428; Sulūk, II, 269.
(9) Ibn Jubair,284.
(10) Ib., 284-5.
(11) Ib.

The monastery developed into an institution of learning and thus emerged into the school. Learning and the manifestation of piety were inseperable in Islam.(1)

These monasteries were occupied by ṣūfīs and ascetics. Many were strangers, mainly from al-Maghrib.(2) Many were on their own - independent ascetics. But a large number were members of one "ṭarīqa" (order) or another. Such ṭarīqas were numerous in the Muslim world, and by the 7th (13th) century they had become well organized.

Of the ṭarīqas known in Syria, and which had followers, the following may be mentioned:

1. Al-Qādiriyya, founded by ʿAbdul-Qādir al-Jilānī (d.in Baghdad in 561/1166-7.(3)

As far as Syria is concerned Muḥammad al-Baṭā'iḥī, of Ba'lbeck obtained proselytes for al-Qādiriyya.(4) His pupils pupil, Taqiy ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī received the khirqa from al-Baṭā'iḥī,(5) and was a propagandist for the ṭarīqa.(6) Mujīr ad-Dīn said that the Shaykh of as-Sāda al-Qādiriyya lived at Jaljūlya (central Palestine) in his times.(7)

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(1) EI, art Masdjid (2) Besides Zāwiyas, ribāts and khānqas there were guest houses, where strangers could receive board and lodging, (Ibn Jubair, 286-8, 290-1). Ibn Baṭūṭa mentions the Zāwiya of Ibn Adham (Ibn Bat.,I, 176). Down to the end of the 9th (15th) century such places were mentioned by travellers. Fakri informs us that when at Hebron he and his friends had food and bread sent to them at their khān from the Zāwiya. So at least food was given not only to Muslims (Fabri, IV, 417-8, (in PPTS, vol.XI). For an interesting Dār al-Maḍīf at Irbil, see Mir'āt az-Zamān, 451-2. Sauvaget, Ars Islamica, VII, I(1940), p.1, discusses Khān 'Ayyash as a guest house.

(3) Fawāt, II, 2; EI, art Kādiriya. On the reported karamāt of 'Abdul-Qadir see Ibn al-Wardī, II, 68ff.

(4) EI, art. Kādirīya.

(5) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 228. Al-Yūnīnī died in 658/1260 (Abu Shāma, Dhayl, 207). See Ibn Kathīr ib., 227-9.

(6) EI, ib.

(7) Mujīr, II, 421. He was Abul'Awn al-Ghazzī al-Qārī.

2. Rifā'iyya, which began in Southern 'Irāq in the 6th (12th) century, found its way into Syria as Harīriyya, which spread in the Ḥawrān[1] and Sa'diyya, (or Jībawiyya), named after Sa'd ad-Dīn al-Jibāwī[2] (died in 700/1300).[3] The Sa'diyya took to curing patients.

The Rifā'iyya had a zāwiya in Jerusalem, which was later occupied by Indians,[4] and thus came to be called Zāwiyat al-Hunūd.

3. Al-Wafa'iyya, which was a reformed offshoot of ash-Shādhiliyya,[5] found its way into Syria in the 8th (14th) century. There was a zāwiya wafa'iyya in Jerusalem when Mujīr ad-Dīn wrote.[6]

4. Al-Qalandariyya, of Persian origin,[7] found its way into Syria when its followers first appeared in Damascus in 610/1213.[8] There was a zāwiya Qalandariyya in Jerusalem c. 800/1400.[9]

5. Nubuwiyya, is of Syrian origin. Massignon is of opinion that it was of ortizsm nature.[10]

6. There were three wandering orders which found their way into Syria. The Yūnusiyya, founded by ash-Shibānī, who died 619/1222;[11] the Ḥaydariyya, who made their first appearance in Damascus in 655/1257;[12] and the Ahmadiyya, whose appearance was in 705/1305[13]

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(1) EI, art, Tarīka.
(2) EI, art. Sa'diya. See also Khulāsat al Athar (Muhibbī), 1, 34f.
(3) Khulāsat al-Athar, ib. Sayyādiyya is another Rifa'ī branch, but it belongs to a later period. See Depont & Coppolani, 227.
(4) Mujīr, II, 399. On the Rifā'iyya in modern times, see Depont, 228ff
(5) EI, art. Tarīka.
(6) Mujīr, ib., 389.
(7) EI, art. Tarīka.
(8) EI, art. Kalandariya, citing Khitat (Būlāq edition) II, 433.
(9) Mujīr, II, 504, 507. It was in Mamilla, and followers of the tarīka were burried there.
(10) EI, art. Tarīka. Ibn Jubair credits an-Nubuwiyya with fighting ar-Rafiḍa, (p. 280).
(11) EI, art. Tarīka.
(12) Sulūk, I, 407. Haydarīs had caps (tartūrs) and had their beards cut (ib.).
(13) Durrat al-Aslāk (MS), year 705.

Besides there were some Bisṭāmi faqīrs in Jerusalem in the 8th (14th) century.(1)

These were the main ṣūfī and darwish fraternities which we could trace in Syria during the period under discussion. We shall have occasion to see the influence of Sufism on public and intellectual life later.(2)

V. GUILDS

(1) Organization of Labour

Of the work performed by members of the town communities, the state controlled a great deal, directly or indirectly. Thus professional people, especially men of the medical profession, were controlled through their chiefs. Schools were under the control of the qāḍīs, and hospitals were supervised by state nāzirs. Various trades, such as sugar, iron, brass and glass, were state monopolies with officers to administer them. Dhimmīs had their own chiefs who were responsible for them to the governor.(3)

What remained came under the supervision of al-Muhtasib,(4) except for a few matters which will be considered later.

It may be argued that it was in the interest of the people that institutions, such as hospitals should be an affair for the state to supervise and support. Schools may be similarly considered.

The state controlled travel and guides.(5) Poggibonsi of the 8th (14th) century and Brocquiere(6) and Fabri(7) of the 9th (15th) century leave us with no doubt as to the interest the state had

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(1) Mujīr,II, 499,on the occasion mentioning the death of 'Alī as-Safiy al-Bistāmī in 761/1359. Massignon (EI.art.Ṭarīka, citing d'Ohsson,Tableau General de l'Empire Othoman), mentions a certain 15th century "Adhamiyya Ṭarīka,"of an artificial Turko-Syrian isnād,which refers to a saint (d.776/1374). (2)Infra c.VII. (3) Cf.Supra CIV.passim (4) Ib.,S.7. (5) Pogg.,6. (6)Brocq., 289. (7) Fabri,III,105-7.

in this matter. It is likely that the state here was prompted by political reasons to take this step - namely self-protection against espionage.

But the thing that attracts our attention about Syrian towns of the period, as of previous periods, is the fact that tradesmen had their own markets, where each group centred its activities. Ibn Jubair says that of Aleppo, where one goes from a sūq of one trade to that of another.(1) Von Suchem said that each trade had its own quarter in Damascus.(2) Poggibonsi spoke of the same city "that crafts were separated, one from each other, each in its own quarter".(3) This was not all accidental. Shayzarī states definitely that a muhtasib should see that crafts were separated.(4) His argument was that it made it easier for clients. But we are inclined to believe that this arrangement was made in order to make it easier for the muhtasib to supervise the craftsmen. This is supported by the often repeated reference to 'arīfs and muqaddams of the sūqs,(5) who were the agents of the muhtasib.

The state took a great interest in khāns, and many were built or repaired during the period under review.(6) Khāns paid the state handsomely.

But in addition to this state organization there existed another organization which came from the workmen themselves. They grouped themselves in guilds which attended to their own interests.

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(1) Ibn Jubair, 252.
(2) Such., 129.
(3) Pogg.,77.See also Ibn Kathīr,XIV, 144, 152; Sulūk, I, 893; Sett., 77; Durr, 242; Mujur, II, 401, 417-8.
(4) Shayzarī, 11.
(5) See Supra, Ch. VII; Ibn Kathīr, XIV, 12, 14; Sulūk, I, 903.
(6) Sauvaget, Caravanserails Syrien, Ars Islamica, IV (1937), 98-121; VI (1939) 48-56; VII (1940) 1-20; Zayat, Mash., XXXVI, (1938) 66-71. Ibn ul Hādī mentions 76 khāns in Damascus (Zayat, ib.).

Thus we notice that millers in Aleppo had their own shaykhs.[1]

(2) Guilds

In the late Roman and Byzantine Empires it became compulsory for workmen to be members of corporations, which were known as corpora or collegia. These corporations were controlled by the state.[2] This close state control is best understood through reading "the Book of the Prefect", which explains the duties of the Prefect of Constantinople in respect of the guilds of that city.

Islamic guilds appear in the 3rd (9th) century. It has been suggested that they were at least in Syria, a revival of Byzantine guilds. Massignon, however, after an extensive study of the subject has accepted the possibility of Byzantine influence or survivals, but could not agree to the idea of a revival. His theory is that Islamic guilds grew as a reaction of the workmen against the conquerors.[3] He has discerned so much Isma'ili and Qarmati teachings in the development of the guilds that he could not explain their rise except on the grounds outlined by him and very ably expounded by Dr. B. Lewis in his study of Islamic guilds.[4]

Massignon notes that guilds had their period of influence when the Fatimīds were in power. With the fall of the Shī'a Caliphate and the revival of sunnī states, guilds became subjected to the supression of the muḥtasib.[5]

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(1) IFD, III (1933), 21, 29; Ibn Furāt, IX, 26-7; Salih, 31.
(2) Enc. of Social Sciences, art guilds (Roman)
(3) Sauvaget, Esquisse, 451.
(4) EI, art Ṣinf; Shādd; Lewis, ~~Ib.~~ Islamic Guilds, 25-6.
(5) EI, art Ṣinf; Enc. of Social Sciences, art guilds (Islamic)

Islamic guilds retained right throughout their history the democratic character which accompanied their early appearance. They never knew the stratification which western guilds experienced.[1] They were interconfessional,[2] where Christians and Jews were accepted. And they always had a moral and ethical code which all novices learned with the craft.[3]

It is rather regrettable that no information of the life of guilds in Syrian cities has come down to us from either the 7th (13th) or 8th (14th) century.

Could we possibly assign the attitude of the guild to the state in Syria under the Bakrī Mamlūks ? If we accept Massignon's theory of the Qarmatī and Isma'īlī tendencies of the guilds and remember the attitude of the Sunnī states towards bodies or organizations which inclined that way, we come to the conclusion that the guild was in opposition to the authorities.

Organization of labour had, then, two aspects which were contradictory in nature and purpose. A state which attempted the organization, supervision and control for its own interests, and the guild, which tried to protect itself and its members in the face of this suppression. The guild was viewed by the state as an underground body capable of subversive movement, and the guild saw in the state an oppressive instrument, aiming at its destruction. The muhtasib and his 'arīfs were the wielders of this authority.

This lack of co-operation between the guild and the state was not in the interest of the workmen. He must have suffered badly.

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(1) Enc. of Soc. Sciences, ib.
(2) Lewis, Islamic Guilds, 37. cf. EI, art Sinf.
(3) Lewis, ib.

He was suspected and subjected to all measures of inspection. Handbooks on hisba show this attitude very clearly. And a workman, who suffered this state of affairs could not prosper. No wonder, therefore, that the Syrian workmen lost their initiative and the workmanship stagnated, and finally suffered considerable, if not complete, relapse. It is really a wonder that Syrians kept so much in the face of this official frustration.

VI. FUTUWWA (1)

When Ibn Jubair visited Syria, late in the 6th (12th) century, he came across a tā'ifa called Nubusiyya, whom he describes as, " (2) sunnis, believe in Futuwwa and manly spirit. Whenever they find a man who enjoys such traits they attach him to themselves and dress him (yahzimūnāhu) (3) with sarawīl al-futuwwa. Whenever one of them takes an oath, he will keep it under any circumstances." The nabawiyya showed their adherence to the faith (sunna) by ruthlessly attacking the Rāfidīs. (4)

It is interesting to know that this reference coincides with the Caliphate of an-Nasir li-Dīn illah the Abbaside (575/1180-622/1225), who is credited with the revival of the institution of the Futuwwa. (5) He then ordered the sultans to follow him. Thus

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(1) Of the early history of Futuwwa there is not much to be said. 'Alī was a "fata" (la sayfa illā dhul Fiqārī walā fata illā 'Alī), and because of that some authors have been led to associate futuwwa with Ismā'īlism (See A.Amīn, Majallat Kulliyat al-Adāb,VI (May,1942),10,13,1
(2) Ibn Jubair, 280.
(3) Here the reading of Arendouk (EI, art.Futuwa) of يحزنونه instead of يحزمونه (Ibn Jubair, 280), is accepted.
(4) Ibn Jubair, ib.
(5) Ibn Athīr,XII,286; Ibn Tiqtaqa (Al-Fakhrī,Cairo,1317),287,not only mentions the revival of "futuwwa", but he explains the act on the ground that an-Nāsir himself was an "Imamite". This would explain the relation between Shī'a and futuwwa.

Al-'Ādil and his sons were presented (in 599) with futuwwa attires[1] and messengers carried same to al-Kāmil.[2]

Another reference to al-Futuwwa in Damascus comes from the year 621/1224 where al-Mubāriz, chief of the Shurta, said to a woman who killed the man who had murdered her son, "You have done well, by God we should all drink a futuwwa for you."[3]

In 653/1246 al-Mu'izz of Egypt ordered that menshould not go about without sarāwīl. A poet, al-Jazzār, said that the king attended to his subjects and "forced upon them sarāwīl al-futuwwa".[4]

Then in 659/1261 an official revival of al-Futuwwa took place in Egypt under Baybars, when the Caliph dressed Baybars with its sarawīl.[5] He, in turn, passed the tradition to the second Caliph.[6]

In 690/1290 the Futuwwa was officially allowed to a large group of people in Syria.[7]

Thus the tradition which had lingered in the country unofficially, took an official turn in the 7th (13th) century.

In outward appearance al-futuwwa was sarawīl (vest and trousers).[8] The acceptance of a man as a "fata" included his tahzīm (dressing) with the sarāwīl;[9] his partaking of the Futuwwa drink - water and salt;[10] and an oath to keep its traditions.[11]

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(1) Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 33.
(2) Ib., 69. The messenger was himself qadi al-fityan in Dimashqq.
(3) Mir'āt az-Zamān, 422.
(4) Suluk, I, 397.
(5) Ib., 459.
(6) Ib., 496.
(7) Al-Altāf, 94.
(8) Ib.
(9) Ibn Jubair, 280.
(10) Mir'āt az-Zamān, 422.
(11) Ibn Jubair, ib.; al-Altāf, 94; see also Talbīs Iblīs of Ibn al-Jawzī (Cairo, 1928), 392-3 and EI art Shadd.

The members helped one another in every respect.[1] It is not clear whether they constituted a special military corps in the wars against the Crusaders. We have not come across any such reference. Again we could not find information to suggest the influence of the religious (Latin) Orders on the "fityān", although such an influence could have existed.

However, the "fityān" seem to have tended, at least in the 8th (14th) century towards the religious or spiritual aspect of life.

Ibn Baṭuṭah, who left an interesting description of the Ākhīs of Asia Minor, does not mention futuwwa in Syria. But his Ākhīs command our attention now. They existed in every town and village. Their activities included attending to foreigners, helping others, opposing ruthless rulers, and murdering the shurta and their evil followers. The chief, in each locality is chosen by the artizans of one profession and others from amongst their members. They have a zāwiya, well furnished, and each provides food and fruits from his day's earnings, which are shared by all, including foreigners.[2]

Ibn Batutah calls their work that of Futuwwa and refers to them both as Ākhīs and fityān.[3] They had a special dress and carried daggers; they sang and danced after their meals.[4]

According to this description the Ākhīs look like a group of fityān, and they may be included in a Futuwwa organization. They differed from the previously described Futuwwa in having an atmosphere

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(1) Ibn Jubair, 280.
(2) Ibn Bat. II, 261.
(3) Ib. 261, 262, 263.
(4) Ib. 264-5.

of a guild .Dr. Lewis' suggestion that they seem to have combined the Guild, the Futuwwa and the religious brotherhood, is plausible, and from Asia Minor the movement spread to the south.(1)

What was the social role which Futuwwa played during the 7th (13th) and 8th (14th) centuries ?

We venture to suggest that the official revival by Baybars was meant to strengthen his position, in the sense that he kept up the tradition of the 'Abbasids in Baghdād. Once this was no more important the Mamlūks let the Futuwwa go its own way as a religious institution. The attack of Ibn Taymiyya on it in the 8th (14th) century shows that it was not favoured by such a staunch supporter of orthodoxy.(2) The political atmosphere of Syria in the period would not allow the Futuwwa to grow and develop as it did in Asia Minor, where there was less centralized state control.

So if they were a social force this must have developed later.

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(1) Lewis, Islamic Guilds, 29-30.
(2) A.Amīn, ib., quoting Ibn Taymiyya.

C H A P T E R V I I

T H E I N T E L L E C T U A L L I F E

I. CHARACTERISTIC OF INTELLECTUAL LIFE

II. PROBLEMS OF THE AGE

III. THE 'ULAMĀ'

I - CHARACTERISTICS OF INTELLECTUAL LIFE

(1) Prefatory note

In the 5th (11th) century the Fatimids had already annexed a large part of Syria. This led to the spread of Shī'ism, at the expense of Sunnism, in many parts of the country. When, late in the same century and early in the following, the Crusaders founded the Latin states in Syria, Islam suffered a political defeat.

The 6th (12th) century brought a Muslim reaction. Begun by Zankī, it was strengthened by Nūr ad-Dīn. Under the leadership of Saladin Muslim forces defeated the Latins at Hittīn in 583/1187.

Zankī, Nūr ad-Dīn and Saladin were sunnīs. The revival of Islam at their hands meant revival of Sunnism. Nūr ad-Dīn, according to Abū Shāma, supported Sunna in Aleppo and changed the innovation of Adhān (the call to prayers) and supressed the rafidīs.(1) Saladin put an end to the Fatimid Caliphate in 567/1171, when the Caliph of Baghdād was again recognised in Egypt and Syria.

In their enthusiasm for Sunna revival the Zankīs and Ayyūbīds saw that all possible measures were taken for the supression of Shī'ism. Schools were founded to teach Sunnism, and the office of Muhtasib(2) was revived.

The Mamlūks, followed the policy of their predecessors. They completed the political and military work against the Crusaders and reconquered Syria. Besides, they founded more schools, organized

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(1) Rawdatayn, I, 5.

(2) See Supra, C. IV, S. VIII.

the state, tightened its hold on the people and controlled various aspects of life. They waged wars against the Nusayrīs and arranged for mosques to be built in their land.(1)

Saladin and his successors were Shāfi'Īs, and this rite, which had allied itself with Ash'arism, became a sort of state - rite.(2) Baybars was the first sultan who officially recognized the four sunnī rites, when he appointed four chief justices, first in Cairo, and later in Syria.(3)

Thus after a temporary defeat Sunnism emerged victorious, having secured the full alliance of the state which, in turn, needed the Sunnī 'Ulamā' to support it.

We should mention another movement which saw its fruition during this period, though not only in Syria. Sūfism had been growing for a long time, but during this period it organized itself in various tarīqas (orders), and increased its popularity. The orthodox (sunnī) 'Ulamā were not favourably disposed towards Sūfism, and many of them attacked Sūfists bitterly.

It was natural, in the circumstances, that religious thought should dominate the intellectual life of the age.

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(1) On the attitude of Mamlūks to Nusayrīs see Supra, C., S., As for the "Matāwla", Shī'a of Jabal 'Āmil, we have not come across any reference to them. It is quite possible that/accepted a defeated they attitude and behaved accordingly. Even in matters of learning they were rather reserved. There is only one Shi'a faqīh, Muhammad ibn Makkī who lived in Jabal 'Amil during the two centuries under discussion.

(2) See Khitat, II, 358. Ash'arism was known in Syria before Saladin, who imposed it in Egypt. His successors and the Mamlūks supported it in their dominions. As-Sayf as-Saqīl, 13.

(3) See Supra, C., I, S., II (3). It is interesting to note that al-'Umari, Ta'rīf (Egypt, 1312 H), p. 75, says that the Shāfi'ī qādī al-qudāt in Damascus was considered superior to his other colleagues.

(2) Religious Literature

We have been able to collect the names of 135 learned men who spent their life or a large part thereof in Syria. They may be classified as follows.[1]

Fuqahā' (jurisconsults)	26
Expositors of the Qur'ān, dogmatists and traditionalists	23
Ṣūfists	5
Linguists, men of letters, and poets	32
Historians and geographers	28
Physicians, scientists and astronomers	14
Encyclopaedists	4
Miscellaneous writers	3

The three first classes, i.e. men who wrote on subjects of religious nature, 54 in number, were 40% of the total number.

As far as books are concerned we have collected the names of 918 books written during the period. They may be classified as follows.

Fiqh	271
Exposition of the Qur'an, dogma and traditions	164
Ṣūfism	158
Language and literature (including poetry)	135
History and geography	123
Medicine, Sciences and astronomy	52
Encyclopaedias	4
Miscellaneous works	11

Books on religious subjects are 593, and are 64.4% of the total number.

We should like to add a few remarks.

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(1) The names of the authors and books have been taken mainly from Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur, I, 254-9, 297-300 313-25, 330-3, 342-51, 353-62, 372-402, 406-513; II, 3-158 and Sup.I & II, relevant parts. Brockelmann's information was supplemented by Abū Shāma, Dhayl, Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya wan-Nahāya, ad-Durar al-Kāmina and Fawāt al-Wafayāt.

1. That many of the poetical works may be considered as dealing with religious subjects, when the theme is the praise of the Prophet.(1)

2. Many of the works of religion run into several volumes, while books on sciences were usually small ones. Al-Jawāb as-Sahīh, and the Fatāwa of Ibn Taymiyya; the Exposition (Tafsīr) of Ibn Kathīr; are books of numerous volumes, to mention only a few examples.

3. There was a large number of muhaddithīn (traditionalists qurrā' (readers of the Qur'ān) and imāms who taught in schools and mosques, but who never wrote any books.(2) And they should be taken into consideration.

If we may keep in mind books which have been completely lost, name and all, we are justified in describing the literary production of the period as energetic and voluminous. An examination of some of the books relating to the defence of Islam or dealing with non-Sunnīs or non-Muslims, shows that the authors were vigorous.

The attack on non-Sunnīs, though characteristic of the period, reached its height in Ibn Taymiyya, amongst whose books there is "Ighāthat al-Lahfān fī Masāyid ash-Shaytān." In this book

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(1) Ibn Nubata (d. 768/1366) Mantakhab al-Hadiyya min al-Madā'ih an-Nabawiyya (GAL, II, 11; Durar IV, 216f).
Al-Wadā'ī (d. 726/1326) al Badr at-Tāli' (GAL, II, 9; Sup.,II2; Fawāt, II, 87 d.716/1316).
Ad-Darīr (d.780/1378) Badī'iyyat al- 'Umyān; Kitāb al-Ghayn (GAL, II, 13-4; Sup. II, 6.)

(2) The obituaries in Abū Shāma, Dhayl, Abul Fidā, Tārikh, and Ibn Kathīr may be consulted for various examples.

he tries to prove that these various schools and sects were wrong. In addition in his work "Bughyat al-Murtād" is a refutation of the teachings of Qarāmita and Bāṭiniyya, while Mutafalsifa receive their share of shattering their teachings. Again one of his larger "risāla" is called "Ar-Radd 'alā an-Nuṣayriyya." In this book Ibn Taymiyya poses the question on the relation between a Muslim and a Nuṣayrī. After a discussion of Nuṣayriyya he concludes by saying that Nuṣayris were more given to unbelief than Jews and Christians,(2) and may not, therefore be entrusted with responsible jobs or duties.(3)

Ṣūfis suffered at the hands of Ibn Taymiyya, especially in "ar-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyya was-Ṣūfiyya."(4)

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, a pupil of Ibn Taymiyya, wrote "Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islamiyya 'ala Ḥarb al-Mu'attila wal-Jahmiyya",(5) and composed a poem of about 6000 verses,(6) called "al-Kāfiya ash-Shāfiya fil-Intiṣār lil-Firqa an-Nājiya," in which he attacked the various Muslim sects in over 1000 verses.(7)

Not only that but there were vehement attacks and counter attacks within Sunnism itself. Thus the "Kāfiya", otherwise known as the "Nūniyya", of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, in which he attacked lenient

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(1) See also Majmū'at Rasāil wa Masā'il, I, 113ff; Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il al-Kubra, I, 387-406.
(2) Majmū' Rasā'il (Cairo, 1323H.), 96.
(3) Ib., 100.
(4) Majmū' Rasā'il wa Masā'il Ibn Taymiyya (Al-Manār, Cairo, n.d.) Part II, Al-Hujaj an-Naqliyya wal-'Aqliyya.
(5) GAL, II, 106.
(6) As-Ṣayf aṣ-Ṣaqīl, 18.
(7) Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (691/1292 - 751/1350) was educated in Damascus. Among his many teachers were his father and Ibn Taymiyya. He was very much attached to his teacher, and he edited Ibn Taymiyya's books and spread his teachings. See Durar, III 400-3; GAL, II, 105f. Ibn Qayyim wrote aṣ-Ṣawā'iq al-Mursala (GAL, II, 106) a mukhtaṣar of which was published in Cairo, 1348.

Sunnī sects, inspired no less a pen than that of as-Subkī, who wrote "as-Sayf as-Saqīl fir-Radd 'alā Ibn Zafīl," in which he tried to refute the former's allegations.

Religious literature of the period was not less vehement in its attack on non-Muslims. As far as Christians are concerned, it is likely that this was a reaction against the Crusades. However it persisted after the expulsion of the Latins, and the campaign took the Jews, as well as native Christians in its wake. Here again we may quote Ibn Taymiyya, who wrote "al-Jawāb as-Sahīh Liman baddala Dīn al-Masīh", a large work in four volumes. He argues that Christians in his times had already corrupted Christianity. His argument was that Christianity proper was that of the Qur'ān. But the books proves that Ibn Taymiyya knew a great deal about Christianity, although he could not grasp all theological implications of this religion.

The other example comes from the pen of his pupil, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, in "Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā, min al-Yahūd wan-Nasārā,"(1) which is a mixture of arguments and emotional accusations masterfully blended together. Not only prose but poetry as well was used for such arguments and attacks. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, in his al-Kāfiya, and in another poem argued with Christians and Jews. His argument was directed mainly against the Crucifiction and burial of Christ.

Thinkers of the period took the defence and explanation of Islam seriously, as it would be natural. Expositions of the Qur'ān, study of the traditions and works on Usūl (dogma), are numerous. But not only that. There were many works on the virtue of jihād

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(1) GAL, II, 106.

(holy war), which may be taken as a reaction against the Crusades. This included sermons[1] and epistles.[2] Traditions which encouraged jihād were cared for by Saladin,[3] and his successors followed his examples. Another thing in which people of authority interested themselves was the writing of biographies of good Muslims of previous ages. Such studies as "Minhāj al-Qāṣidīn fī Fadl al-Khulafā' ar-Rashidīn" of Muwaffaq ad-Dīn al-Qudsī (d.620/1223);[4] "Mir'āt az-Zamān of Sibt ibn al-Jawzī;[5] and Kitab ar-Rawdatayn of Abu Shama[6] are only examples of the interest in this kind of literary production.

(3) Cult of the Holy Land

One of the most interesting aspects of religious production of the period was the interest so many writers took in the Holy Land.[7] Three books which were written during this period, will suffice to show how deep the matter was rooted in the minds of the people. They are (1) "Targhīb ahl al-Islām fī Sukna ash-Shām", by 'Izz ad-Dīn ibn 'Abd as-Salām (known as sulṭān al-'Ulamā');[8] (2)"Muthīr al-Gharām fī Ziyārat al-Quds wash-Shām", by Shihāb ad-Dīn al-

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(1) Al-Fath al-Qussī, 62; Abū Shāma, Rawdatayn, II, 110.
(2) Al-Fath al-Qussī, 58f; Qalq.,XIV, 31f.
(3) Abū Shāma,Rawdatayn, II, 199.
(4) Muwaffaq ad-Dīn ibn Qudāma(541/1146-620/1223) - Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 139ff; Fawāt, I, 203; GAL, I, 398, Sup. I, 689.
(5) Sibt ibn al-Jawzi (582/1186 - 654/1257) See GAL, I, 347f; Abū Shama, Dhayl, 195 and index; Ibn Kathir, XIII, 194. Sibt has another book called Tadhkirat Khawās al-'Umma bidhikr Khasā'is al-A'imma, GAL, ib.
(6) Abu Shama al-Maqdisi, 599/1203-665/1268. See his Dhayl,37-45, for a short autobiography. Also Fawāt, I, 252.
(7) Charles D. Mathews in JAOS, LVI (1936), 1-7.
(8) Ibn 'Abd as-Salām (577 or 578/1181 - 660/1262), see subkī,Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubra, V, 80ff; Fawāt, I, 287; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, Tabaqāt, fo.187-8. The book was edited and published by A.S.Khalidī, Jerusalem, 1940.

Maqdisī,[1] and (3) "Muthīr al-Gharām fī Ziyārat al-Khalīl 'ām", by at-Tadmurī al-Khalilī.[2]

The argument developed in the first book, seemingly representative of many others, was that according to various traditions of the Prophet ash-Shām as a whole, and Damascus in particular, held a special place of honour in Islām. Many Companions of the Prophet were buried in Syria, and therefore the country was vital to Islam, and thus should be defended by Muslims. Muthīr emphasized Jerusalem and the second Muthīr lay stress on Hebron.

The Cult of the Holy Land had become so strong in the 7th (13th) century that Ibn Taymiyya found it expedient and useful to refute such arguments, which, to his iconoclastic outlook were outrageous. So he wrote his "Qa'ida fī Ziyārat Bayt al-Maqdis."[3] His refutations may be summed up as follows: (1) Al-Masjid of Jerusalem was the third mosque in importance, but al-Khalīl (Hebron) does not rank with it.[4] (2) The Masjid of Jerusalem serves for worshipping God like any other mosque, but its visit does not take the place of the pilgrimage to Makka.[5] (3) There were no haram (sanctuary) either in Jerusalem or Hebron.[6] (4) The visit of the Masjid of Jerusalem is an ordinary one and is permissible at any time provided it does not take the shape of a pilgrimage.[7] (5) 'Asqalān, 'Akkā, Tarsūs (Antarsūs) and the Lebanons may not be visited (i.e. a religious visit) because they either were destroyed or else had no Muslims living in them (the Lebanons) meriting a visit.[8]

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(1) Shihāb ad-Dīn (714/1313-765/1364), died in Jerusalem. See Durar, I, 242.
(2) Ishāq ibn Ibrahīm ibn Kāmil died in 833/1429. His book was written in 814/1411. See Brockelmann, GAL, II, 131, Sup. II, 162.
(3) Edited by Charles D. Mathews, JAOS, LVI (1936), 7-21.
(4) Qā'ida, 7-9. (5) Ib., 10-11.
(6) Ib., 13-4. (7) Ib., 14.
(8) Ib., 15.

Ibn Taymiyya, inter alia, tried to show that many of the traditions, accepted by so many people, were not authentic, and that they were the creation of later qussās (story-tellers).

(4) Scientific Literature

The period under discussion produced little scientific literature, with the exception of medicine and astronomy. Thus we have two books on logic, twelve on geography, one on science and one on strategy and tactics. Medicine throve during the period because of the patronage of Nūr ad-Dīn, Saladin and their successor. Besides Medicine was of practical use and did not interfere with matters of state. Similarly most works on astronomy or allied branches deal with the practical side of the matter, such as the making of astrolabes.(1)

Could one find an explanation for that?

The state controlled higher education. It aimed at having its own existence defended. This was the work of religious teachers and thinkers, who are known collectively as 'Ulamā'. Freedom of thought had no place in the educational system of the period, neither was it allowed in the intellectual life at large. Saladin, according to Abu Shāma,(2) hated philosophers and those who opposed orthodoxy, so that he ordered the execution of as-Suhrawardī (al-Maqtūl). This was a dangerous precedent set by the idol of many of his successors.

Education became a matter of a thorough understanding

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(1) Ar-Risāla al-Usturlābiyya of Zayn ad-Dīn al-Mizzī (690/1291-750/1349). Durar, III, 325-6. Ash-Shātir al-Muwaqqit (d.777/1375) wrote another risāla on astrolakes (GAL, II, 126-7).

(2) Rawdatayn, II, 219.

of a theological system which they took some pains to build. Both circles of learners and subjects of learning became narrow and restricted. We notice that many of the books on dogma were commentaries, explanations and dhuyūl (continuations) to some one work.(1) Linguistic books were the same. As the Islamic community received no new currents of thought from the 7th (13th) century onward, there were no stimulants to intellectual speculation. An internal equilibrium had been attained, and the theology met the needs of the community it served,(2) so a change must come as a reaction against an impact from outside.(3) This was lacking during the period.

But the 'Ulamā' of the period dealt with some problems which were vital to the Muslim community at large. This will be discussed now.

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(1) The following lists of books show this:
(a) i. Kitāb Jam' al-Jawāmi'
ii. Man' al-Mawāni' 'an Jam' al-Jawāmi'
(b) i. Tawshīḥ at-Tashīḥ
ii. Tarshīḥ at-Tawshīḥ
iii. Tarjīḥ at-Tashīḥ
These are two examples from as-Subki (727/1327 - 771/1370). See Durar, II, 425; GAL, II, 89-90.
Another example on books and summaries from the same author are his three sets of Tabaqāt, al-Kubra, al-wusta and as-Sughra (Durar, II, 426)
(2) H.A.R.Gibb, Mohammedanism, p.146. Professor Gibb's argument covers the five centuries from the 13th to the 18th, but we are here concerned only with the first two centuries of this period.
(3) As-Subkī (Alī, d.756/1355) said that Greek philosophy was not in favour in Islam. As-Sayf as-Saqīl, 14.

(5) Poetry and Literature

During the conflict between Muslims and Crusaders Arabic poetry flourished. The battles and victories of Nūr ad-Dīn and Saladin gave poets topics, and they never failed singing the praises of the princes.[1] Ibn 'Unayn and Ibn as-Sa'ātī[2] praised the Ayyūbids, although the first suffered banishment from Damascus and lived in exile, in Yaman, but at the court of an Ayyūbīd.

Poets of our period proper, (7th and 8th) centuries, who may be considered Syrians, are numerous - 23 of them.[3] But their literary production, as far as quality is concerned, does not rank with productions of earlier periods of Arabic poetry. Ibn Nubāta is probably the best known. Born in Mayafārqīn in 676/1287[4] he came to Damascus in 716/1316.[5] Ibn Nubāta finally settled in Cairo where he died in 768/1366.

His dīwān[7] contains a number of praise poems, 18 of which begin with the traditional love or remembrance verses.[8]

Ibn Nubāta wrote muwashshah, the new strophic measures, said to have been introduced to the East by Ibn 'Arabī.[9] Another thing to be kept in mind is that Ibn Nubāta wrote poetry in zajal, an example of which is to be found in his dīwān.[10]

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(1) His dīwān was edited by K.Mardam Bey (Damascus, 1946) . For examples of his praise of the princes see pp. 1-58. Ibn 'Unayn, who spent many a year away from Damascus, wrote many poems in which he longed for his city. See his Dīwān, 68-90.
(2) Dīwān edited by A.K. Maqdisi,(Beirut, 1938).
(3) See Supra, p. 278.
(4) Durar, IV, 216. Brockelmann, GAL, II, 10, gives his birth in 686/1287.
(5) Durar, IV, 217. (6) Ib.,
(7) Published in Beirut, 1304.
(8) Dīwān, pass.
(9) Gibb, Arabic Literature, 91.
(10) Dīwān, 51.

Apparently men of letters of the period felt the tendency of thinkers to spend their life in studying matters of theology, so that Yaqūt found it necessary to insert in the preface of his work, Irshād al-Arīb (Dictionary of learned Men), an apology, for writing on a non-theological subject.[1] The passage runs: "I am well aware of odious critics who will revile and disparage me, men whose mind has been poisoned by ignorance and whose inmost soul revolts against generous gifts of nature, declaring that it is of more importance to devote oneself to matters of religion and more useful in this world and the next. Do they know that men are fashioned in different moulds and with different capacities? God has appointed for every science men to preserve it in its completeness and bring order into its substance, and every man is guided to that for which he is created. I do not deny that were I to cleave to my mosque and my prayer-mat such conduct would be better adapted to the path of safety in the future life. But to pursue the best has been denied to me, and surely it suffices to a man for virtue that he does nothing reprehensible and walks not in the way of deceit."

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(1) Irshād, I, 7. The translation is quoted from Gibb, Arabic Literature, 83.

II. PROBLEMS OF THE AGE.

(1) Man's Relation to God

One of the burning questions of the period was man's relation to God. The lines of argument, on this point, were at least two. There was the Sūfī interpretation, which seems to have been attracting a large number of followers, and which, through the organization of Sufism in tariqas, drew more and more the attention of the 'Ulamās. The second line of thought was the Sunni, with its traditional Ash'arite school and the newly developed Hanbali school which grew rapidly from the 6th (12th) to the 8th (14th) century. (1)

Ṣūfism, at various stages and after various thinkers, taught hulūl (incarnation) and ittihād (mystic union), to which, in the 7th (13th) century, wahdat al-wujūd (existentialist monism) was added. Sufists insisted that ma'rifa (personal experience or experimental wisdom), was the means through which man could know God.

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(1) Hanbalism was established in Damascus in the 5th (11th) century when Abul-Faraj 'Abdul-Wahīd settled in Damascus. He died there in 486/1093 (Laoust, 13 n.2, citing al-'Ulaymī from Sauvaire). But it was Banū Qudāma who made Hanbalism a living force in the intellectual life of the city. Of Banū Qudāma Abū 'Umar (d.607/1210) founded as-Sālihiyya (Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 71). The school which later became the Hanbalī school per excellence was founded by Muzaffar ad-Dīn Kukburī, prince of Irbil (Sauvaget Les Monuments historiques de Damas, Beirut, 1932, p.95). Muwaffaq ad-Dīn, Abū 'Umar's brother was the greatest 'Ālim ash-Shām knew since al-Awzā'i (Ibn Taymiyya(?) cited in the introduction to al-Mughnī (Cairo,1345-8), p.3). Muwaffaq ad-Dīn wrote on fiqh in three stages - elementary "al-'Umda", medium "al-Muqni'" and advanced "al-Mughnī". He died in 620/1223 (Abū Shāma, Dhayl, 139). Laoust, 15, compares him to al-Ghazzālī and ash-Shirāzī. See further, Abū Shama, ib.,139 ff; Ibn Badran's introduction to al-Mughnī, (Vol.I, 1-9), which appeared in 12 volumes including ash-Sharh al-Kabīr. This work, was written by Shams ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Rahmān, ibn Abū 'Umar as a commentary on his uncle's al-Muqni'. He was the first Hanbalī qādī qudāt in Damascus (664/1265) - 676/1277), Shams ad-Dīn died in 682/1283. See Shadarāt adh-Dhahab, V, 376-9; al-Maqsid al-Arshad, cited in al-Mughnī (introduction to Vol. I, 9-10); GAL, I, 399, Sup.,I, 691; Laoust, 17.

Many of them, if not all, were prepared to admit foreign practices or to neglect some forms of worship. Thus sūfī ṭarīqas admitted dhikr and samā as means of gaining this ma'rifa.(1)

The leading Sūfī of the period who lived in Syria, and one of the foremost Sūfis in Islam, was Ibn 'Arabī.(2) When Ibn Taymiyya refuted Sūfism he naturally chose Ibn 'Arabī.(3)

Sunnism, on the other hand maintained high moral and intellectual standards and refused to countenance innovations and usages which detracted the purity of early doctrines.(4) And in its

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(1) See on Sūfism EI, art. Tasawwuf, Kissa, Massignon, Essai sur les Origines de Lexique technique de la Mystique musulmane; Nicholson, Mystics of Islam, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, and his chapter on Sufism in The Legacy of Islam; Gibb, Mohammedanism, cc. 8 and 9 (127-164).

(2) Born in Murcia 560/1165, Ibn 'Arabī visited parts of Portugal, North Africa and the East before he finally settled in Damascus where he died in 638/1240 (See Fawāt, II, 241; Maqqarī, I, 567; Brockelmann, GAL, I, 441-8). Ibn 'Arabī, according to Brockelmann, ib. wrote 150 works mostly on Sūfism. On Ibn 'Arabī's philosophy see The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Dīn ibnul-'Arabī, by A.E. Affifi (Cambridge,1939). Other names of Sūfīs include Ibn as-Sarrāj (al-Qurashī ad-Dimashqī) who lived in the 8th (14th) century and wrote Tuffāh al-Arwāh wa Miftāh al-Arbāh (Brockelmann, GAL, II, 119), and 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Asnawī (or al-Asnā'i) 695/1294 - 764/1363 (Durar, III, 421f). Al-Asnawī taught at Hamā (ib.,422). He wrote Hayāt al-Qulūb fī Kayfiyyat al-Wusūl ilal-Mahbūb (GAL, II, 119) and al-Mu'tabar fī 'Ilm an-Nazar and Sharh al-Minhāj lil-Baydāwī, which he did not complete (Durar, III, 422).

(3) Rasā'il wa Masā'il, II, 1-157; Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il al Kubra, II, 288/317 Attacks on Sūfīs included Talbīs Iblīs of Ibn al-Jawzī al-Baghdādī (Cairo 1928), is only an example of what the 'Ulamā' thought of Sūfism. From Syria itself Sūfism received attacks from Muwaffaq ad-Dīn ibn Qudāma (541/1146 - 620/1223), who wrote "Dhamm ma 'alayhī ma'ānī at-Tasawwuf minal-Ghinā' war-Raqs" (GAL, I, 398f), published in "Min Dafā'in al Kunūz", pp.38-45 (Cairo, 1349), and from Ibn Jamā'a (725/1325 - 790/1388), who wrote Nasiha fī Dhamm al-Ghinā' wa-Istimā'ihī (GAL, II, 112f; Durar, I, 38). Al-Kutubī expressed his opinion on Sūfism when he said of Ibn 'Arabī "were it not for his shath (theopathic conversation) he would have been a good man", Fawāt, II, 421.

(4) Gibb, Mohammedanism, 142.

refutation of sūfism, as well as in its re-examination and explanation of Islam, Sunnism was vigorous. But as it is not possible to discuss the various arguments, we shall confine ourselves to dealing with some views of Ibn Taymiyya, probably the strongest leader of Sunni (HanbalI) thought of the period.

A Muslim, and that was the centre of attention to Ibn Taymiyya and his contemporaries, as Islam was the only religion acceptable to God,(1) was expected to believe in God and his Prophet. A Muslim drew on the Qur'ān and Sunna for his belief, because all matters of faith and action were fully treated there.(2)

'Īmān (belief) of a Muslim, which would guarantee salvation for him, was a belief in God alone, which is the basis of religion,(3) and accepting Muhammad as his Prophet. But the emphasis of Ibn Taymiyya that faith was a unit, i.e. indivisible,(4) is interesting. This certainly included worship, as it was prescribed in the two sources of Islam.(5)

In addition man must submit to God. His submission, like his faith, should be complete.(6)

In revealing this faith to man, God used intermediaries, the prophets.(7) Man, when asking God's help may seek the intercession of the Prophet.(8) But Ibn Taymiyya very strongly denounced the visits paid by people to sanctuaries and walis (saints) on the

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(1) Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il al-Kubrā, I, 272; II, 152.
(2) Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il (Ma'ārij al-Wusūl), 2, 23-4; Majmū'at ar-Rasa'il al Kubrā (al-Wasiyya al-Kubrā), I, 231, 292, 316. cf. al-Jawāb al-Kāfī of Ibn Qayyima al-Jawziyya (Cairo, n.d.), passim.
(3) Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il al-Kubrā, I, 289.
(4) Ib., 39, 41. (5) Ib., 265, 299.
(6) Ib.,237; II, 150; Risālat al-'Ubudiyya (in Majmū' Rasa'il,2-44).
(7) Majmu' Rasa'il (al-Wasita), 45-7.
(8) Ib., 51-3.

assumption that such tombs and persons had, in themselves, special powers.(1)

(2) Man and Community.

Al-Umma (the community) as Ibn Taymiyya conceived it, was the community of Muslims, as Islam is the only religion acceptable to God.(2) The basic principle according to which members of the community worked together was "ta'āwun" (solidarity), where each Muslim must see that other men are helped to do good, avoid evil and receive justice according to the principles of Islam.(3) Furthermore Ibn Taymiyya conceived of the community as organic and with definite aims and ends. The purpose of the community is al-amr bil-ma'ruf wan-nahy 'an al-munkar. Here again the community is fulfilling the will of God.(4)

In order that the community may achieve its end, it must have an organization - an "imāma."(5) This imāma (state), with its various administering officers and bodies, should comply with the teachings of religion. It should aim at al-amr bil-ma'rūf wan-nahy 'an al-munkar,(6) it should be a just state, as God may not help an unjust state although it may be a state of believers.(7)

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(1) See on this point Ibn Taymiyya's works: Ar-Radd 'alal-Bakrī (Cairo, 1346); ar-Radd 'alal-Akhnā'ī (margin of the previous book); Ziyārat al-Qubūr (in Majmū'at Rasā'il, 103-22); Qā'ida fī Ziyārat Bayt al-Maqdis (ed.by Charles D.Mathews, JAOS, LVI (1936), 7-21.
(2) Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il al-Kubra, I, 272-3; Hisba, 89, cf. Laoust, 251.
(3) Ib., 308; Hisba, 35; Siyāsa, 43-46, where his conception of complete solidarity is fully treated. Laoust is of opinion that Ibn Taymiyya thought that the use of Arabic was essential (Laoust, 254, citing al-'Iqtidā'), because he (Ibn Taymiyya) saw in the loss of Arabic, under pressure of the Turkish elements, a danger to Islam (Laoust, ib.).
(4) Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il al-Kubra, I, 307-8.
(5) Hisba, 37.
(6) Ib. For a full treatment of al-amr bil-ma'rūf wan-Nahy 'an al-munkar, see Hisba, 63-91.
(7) Ib., 36; Siyāsa, 1-2. See also at-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya, 14.

The state, which Ibn Taymiyya advocated, was thus theocratic. But, as Laoust has suggested, its duty was to cooperate with, and serve, the umma (community) not only to receive its submission.(1) This submission, however, was essential for the achievement of the end for which a community exists.(2)

This state has an ethical duty towards the community, both in the social and economic life. It should secure justice, attend to security, see that people performed their religious practices;(3) Through al-muhtasib it should see that all kinds of transactions were just.(4) The state should fight fraud.

The duty of the state in economic life, included the protection of the community against monopolies and fraudulent merchants. Thus monopolies were not permitted and should not be allowed.(5) Control of prices was permitted when this would help people get their rights - in times of shortage and need.(6) Ibn Taymiyya allowed the state to interfere in the economic affairs of the community, when this would secure their needs. Thus individuals may be directed to perform certain duties, in trades, agriculture or war, when the interest of the community demanded that.(7) But such duties must be compensated for, and no one may suffer an injustice.(8)

His views were not in favour of individual economy. The individual was not the undisputed master of his action - his initiative was subject to the injunctions of Islam. It was the duty of the state to see that such rules were observed.(9)

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(1) Laoust, 316.
(2) Hisba, 36.
(3) Ib., 39-40.
(4) Ib., 41.
(5) Ib., 42.
(6) Ib., 43, 51, 54.
(7) Hisba, 44.
(8) Ib., 45, 47.
(9) Laoust, 468.

(3) Other Problems

The 'Ulamā' of the period discussed many more problems than the two dealt with above. A reading of al-Mughnī of Muwaffaq ad-Dīn ibn Qudāma, of ash-Shark al-Kabīr of his nephew Shams ad-Dīn,[1] and the same author's book al-Adāb ash-Shar'iyya,[2] of Ibn 'Abd as-Salām's Qawā'id al-Ahkām fī Masālih al-Anām,[3] of Ibn Taymiyya's Fatawa[4] and of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's at-Turuq al-Hukmiyya fī as-Siyāsa ash-Shar'iyya[5] and ar-Rūh,[6] to mention only a few books, shows the scope of their discussions and thinking. It is not possible to follow up all such problems now, so we should like to mention some of them, as briefly as possible.

One such problem was that of al-Ijtihād (independent interpretation or research). Here we see that men like Ibn 'Abd as-Salām, Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya did not favour accepting the verdicts of the four imāms blindly. Ibn 'Abd as-Salām is surprised because an 'ālim sees the weakness of the arguments of his imām, and yet allows himself to follow him.[7] He thinks, however, that the public should not be allowed ijtihād, because they could not grasp its complications.[8] Shams ad-Dīn

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(1) The two books published together by al-Manār, Cairo, 1346-8 (12 vols.).
(2) Published by al-Manār, Cairo, 1348-9 (3 vols.).
(3) Published, Cairo, 1353 (1934).
(4) Published in Cairo, 1325-9 (5 vols.).
(5) Published, Cairo, 1317.
(6) Haydar Ahād, 1324.
(7) Qawā'id al-Ahkām, 153.
(8) Ib., 152.

allows the ijtihād where it could be justified where this would comply with sunna and ijmā'.(1)

Ibn Taymiyya showed his ijtihād in more than one case, but his views on Talāq (divorce are particularly interesting as far as personal matters are concerned.(2)

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya shows that he thought of fiqh as a growing and evolutionary process. Thus he accepts the argument that the siyāsa (government) may follow means which will produce a common good although such rules were not laid down by the Prophet or revealed to him, as long as such means are not in contradiction to either.(3) As he gives the rulings of al-hajj and Uthman's action in supplying the muslims with an authorised version of the Qur'ān.(4) To him customs and circumstantial practices are worth following in various aspects of life.(5)

Another of the problems of the period was the position of the dhimmīs, which is discussed at great length by many writers; and this shows to what extent it was in the minds of the people.(6)

Again al-jihād (holy war) was an important topic for the 'Ulamā',(7) and the age, with its wars and campaigns certainly justified their interest in the matter.

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(1) Al-Adāb ash-Shar'iyya, I, 186-90, esp. 190.
(2) See Fatāwa, II, 240; III, 2, 7, 8, 13, 25, 27, 36, 57, 66, 75; IV, 53.
(3) At-Turuq al-Hukmiyya, 13.
(4) Ib., 18-9.
(5) Ib., 19-20.
(6) Al-Mughnī and ash-Shark al-Kabīr, X, 567-636; al-Adāb ash-Shar'iyya, I, 211 ff; See also infra C, III S.V.(2), for other references on the subject.
(7) See for example Ibn Taymiyya, Fatāwa, IV, 279 ff.

Business transactions of all sorts attracted many of the authors.[1]

Teaching was both a state concern as well as the concern of many individuals. And it is rather interesting to come across opinions expressed by the 'Ulamā' of the age. Thus Shams ad-Dīn ibn Qudāma, says that nothing should be allowed to prevent children from learning - such as poverty or weakness.[2] He seems to encourage the teaching of women too.[3]

Manners and social behaviour were discussed by several of them. The basic idea they had was that such matters of religious values. Shams ad-Dīn's al-Adāb ash-Shar'iyya deals, in addition to worships, personal matters and acts of faith, with principles of social behaviour,[4] medical treatment,[5] perfumes and their use,[6] foods and table manners[7] and love.[8]

Ibn Taymiyya, has a very interesting risāla called "Raf' al-Malām 'an al-A'imma al-A'lām,[9] in which he apologizes for the mistakes committed by some of the 'Ulamā'. It is in itself a critical study of the methods of research which his contemporaries followed.

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(1) Examples al-Mughnī and ash-Sharh al-Kabīr, IV, 3-454; V, 126, 554-98; VI, 1-146; al-Adāb ash-Shar'iyya, III, 281 ff.
(2) Al-Adāb ash-Shar'iyya, I, 254-5.
(3) Ib., III, 309-10. The author after repeating two traditions against the teaching of women, reminds his reader that both traditions did not have reliable sanads.
(4) I, 445 ff; II, 269 ff; III, 247 ff.
(5) II, 359 ff; 429 ff; 462 ff; III, 66 ff.
(6) Ib., 415-429.
(7) Ib., 449-62; III, 5-72, 212-247.
(8) III, 124-41.
(9) Majmū' Rasā'il, 55-83.

One practical problem which authors of the period faced was the preparation of the large number of diwanī officers needed by the Mamlūk administration. This was met by the authors of the huge encyclopaedias of the age. Syrian authors subscribed to this duty. Thus al-'Umarī[1] wrote Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amsār, which is geographical, historical, biographical and literary work in 27 (or 22) volumes. But finding that al-Masālik was too huge for practical purposes, he condensed it in at-Ta'rīf bil-mustalah ash-Sharīf.[2]

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(1) Abul 'Abbās 'Alī ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umarī (700/1301 - 748/1348) was born in Damascus, and he died there, but spent many years travelling in Egypt and Hijāz. He was Kātib as-sirr in Damascus. See Fawāt, 17; Durar, I, 331 -3; GAL, II, 141, II, 175.

(2) Published, Cairo, 1312. Al-Qalqashandī followed a similar way when he wrote his voluminous work Subh al-A'shā then condensed it in ad-Daw' al-Munbī.

III. THE 'ULAMĀ'

During the period we have been studying the 'Ulamā' were very influential. Al-wazā'if ad-diniyya (religious offices) were all held by them. Thus judges, muhtasibs, muftis, teachers, imāms, khatībs, and qāri's were chosen from amongst the 'Ulamā'. In such capacities they controlled education and saw to the administration of justice and the interpretation of the Law of Islam.

Many of the dīwānī (administrative) offices were held by them too. Kātibs of inshā, nāzirs of various institutions, such as bimaristāns[1] and al-jaysh,[2] were of the 'Ulamā'. Official literature of the period certainly bears the traces of their work.[3]

Even without holding office, many of the 'Ulamā', especially men of strong personality and character, could force their point of view on the rulers, because they had the support of the public, who respected them for their learning sincerity and enthusiasm. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this case.

Al-'Ādil (the Ayyūbid) issued new coins, which were called qarātīs. Al-Yūnīnī criticised this action in strong words, and accused him of the intention of corrupting business transactions. On hearing this al-'Ādil cancelled the qarātīs.[4]

Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī acted as an unofficial counsellor to al-Mu'azzam.[5]

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(1) Supra, p. 197. (2) Supra, p. XXIX.
(3) See Qalq., Vols. XII and XIII for documents of the period.
(4) Abū Shama, Dhayl, 125. (5) Ib., 117, 147.

Aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars held a special council of the 'Ulamā' in Damascus (666/1267), to secure from them a fatwa for the confiscation of the lands of al-Ghūta. But he was faced with the opposition of Shahrazūrī, who objected to the issue of such a fatwa, on the grounds that the sultan had no legal right.(1)

Ibn 'Abd as-Salām, himself a contemporary of aẓ-Ẓāhir, forced the abolition of the sale of wine,(2) struck the bī'a (acclamation) to the Caliph before the Sultan himself(3) and insisted that he (Ibn 'Abd as-Salām) should sell the Mamlūk amīrs,(4) and did so. The proceeds he spent for charity.

In 680/1281 wines and prostitutes were farmed out in Damascus, but this all was abolished because of the opposition of the 'Ulamā' and the pious.(5)

Ibn Taymiyya is a good example of the influence of a strong 'Ālim in the affairs of the state and society. A few examples, taken from his life, would show this.

He talked to people about al-Jihād, when he saw the Mongol danger in 697/1298.(6) His pleading was more effective than State orders. When the Mongols of Ghazān occupied Damascus, it was Ibn Taymiyya who told Argawāsh, Nāyib al-Qal'a, not to surrender the citadel.(7) Ibn Taymiyya, accompanied by some notables of Damascus, went to an-Nabk hoping to meet Ghazān in person and secure from him some sort of amān for the people of the city. But they failed to see him.(8)

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(1) Supra, p.134, n.4.
(2) Subkī, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya al-Kubrā, V, 81.
(3) Ib., 83-4.
(4) Ib., 84-5.
(5) Supra, p. 58.
(6) Ibn Kathīr, XIII, 352.
(7) Ib., XIV, 7-8.
(8) Ib., 8-9.

After the withdrawal of Ghazān's army from Damascus, Ibn Taymiyya ahd his friends went round visiting wine-shops, breaking wine-vessels, pouring out wines and administering ta'zīr (admonition) to owners of ḥānāt (drinking places).(1)

Ibn Taymiyya accompanied the two expeditions to Kisrawān, early in the 8th (14th) century.(2) Again before the battle of Shaqḥab (702/1302) Ibn Taymiyya went with the army, spoke to the men about unity and victory, saw that amīrs and other people swore to be faithful, and took trouble to explain the legality of fighting the Mongols although they were Muslims like themselves.(3)

These are just a few examples to illustrate the part the 'Ulamā' played in the public life then. If we add to this their intellectual activities, we should not be surprised to find that they had such a big say in the direction of the life of people.

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(1) Ib. 11.

(2) Ib., 12, 35.

(3) Ib., 23-4. Ibn Taymiyya was interested in gaining converts for Islam. Ibn al-Muhadhdhab, formerly a Jew, was one he had convinced, (ib. 19, 75).

C O N C L U S I O N S

CONCLUSIONS

The Mamlūks succeeded the Ayyūbīds in Syria (and Egypt). They inherited from them their legacy of fighting the Crusaders, supressing Shī'ism and reviving Sunnism. Another duty was added in the 7th (13th) century, namely defending the country against the Mongols. The Mamlūks succeeded in these matters.

They needed a spiritual support, therefore Baybars revived the Caliphate in Egypt. They administered their empire on military basis, reserving the key posts of the administration and the army for themselves.

The Mamlūks increased the state control of various aspects of life. Their agents supervised many sides of the economic life. Through the muḥtasib they controlled social life, kept artizans under the watch, saw that dhimmis behaved themselves and tightened their hold on any possible subversive movements.

Economic life remained very active and towns were full of merchandise and activity. But the common people, whether serfs on the land, or those living in the towns, led a low standard of life. We own that our information on this point is rather scanty, therefore we state this conclusion with caution.

Socially the State took an interest in the people, in as far as mosques, schools and bimaristāns were founded by the Mamlūks or their foundation was encouraged. But anything pertaining to education was subject to state control.

Spritual and intellectual life was rich and active. Sūfism, which had no less a leader than Ibn 'Arabī, and which came to be organized in tarīqas, enriched the spiritual experience of the Muslims.

The 'Ulamā' of the period were active in discussing such problems as man's relation to God, his place in the community and the necessity and value of a government. But altogether their discussions were restricted. The theological system, within which they kept themselves, had achieved an inner equilibrium and satisfied the desires of the society. It could not create new ways of thought, because it received no impact from outside which would force it to reexamine itself from a different angle. Yet it is to the credit of a few of the 'Ulamā' that they allowed themselves a certain amount of ijtihād, although within the precincts of sunna and jamā'a.

Altogether we are dealing with a society which suffered state-control and limits of legalism, but within these limits it succeeded, to some extent, in expressing itself either through literature and learning or, in the case of some classes, in corporational movement. Here it was not only a matter of self-expression, but self-defence against the ruling minority as well.